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TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. V.]

MARCH, 1894.

[No. I.]

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 20th, 1893.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. G. Laurence Gomme, F.S.A.)
in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed. The resignation of Mons. Emile Blémont was announced, and Mr. H. Raynbird and the Rev. G. Hartwell Jones were duly elected members of the Society.

The following pamphlets were presented and laid upon the table, viz.: (1) Native Calendar of Central America and Mexico, presented by Dr. D. G. Brinton; (2) The Proceedings of the Woman's Anthropological Society (Washington, U.S.A.), presented by the Society; (3) The following Russian pamphlets, presented by M. Eug. Anichkof:—1. Ukazateli kŭ naučnymŭ trudamŭ Alexandra Nikolaeviča Veselovskago. 1859-1885. St. Petersburg, 1888. The list of Prof. A. N. Wesselofski's learned works and studies compiled by his students and friends to celebrate the twenty-fifth year of his literary activity. 2. Zapiski Romano-Germanskago otděleniya filologičeskago obščestva pri Imperatoerskomŭ S. Peterburgskomŭ Universitetě. Vypuskŭ I. St. Petersburg, 1888. (The Memoirs of the Romano-Germanistic section of the Philological Society at the St. Petersburg University, Part I, containing, among others, an interesting and important study of Prof. Wesselofski on the "Wild Huntsman", and two studies on the

"Romandu Fauvel", by G. A. Bórbinski and Th. Batiuškov.)
 3. Zapiski Neo-filologičeskago obščestva II, i, 2. St. Petersburg., 1892. (The continuation of No. 2, with new title: Memoirs of the Society of Modern Philology.) No. 1 contains a study of Th. A. Braun, on Prof. Budilovič's theory of the Gothic origin of the name Rus. No. 2, a very interesting study by E. v. Anichkof on "Mikula the Divine and St. Nikolaus". A series of folk-tales and miracles are studied in connection with one another, and the influence examined which the *Vita* has exercised upon Russian folk-lore.

The following short papers were read by the Secretary, viz. :—

"A Valentine's Day Custom," by Mr. W. B. GERISH (*infra*, p. 3).

"Cursing-Stones in Co. Fermanagh," by Mr. G. H. KINAHAN (*infra*, pp. 3-4).

A Note on Professor Haddon's article on Irish Folk-Lore, by Miss NORA HOPPER (*infra*, p. 80).

"Scripture Tableaux in Italian Churches," by Mr. W. H. D. ROUSE, and "Italian Votive Offerings," by the same author (*infra*, pp. 4-13).

In the discussion which followed, Mr. M. J. Walhouse, Mr. Clodd, and the President took part.

Mr. F. YORK POWELL read a paper "On Old Northern Folk-Lore and Folk-Faith" (to be printed in the next number), and a discussion followed, in which Mr. Clodd, Mr. Clive Holland, Mr. Kirby, and the President took part.

A Note by Mr. Haig, "On Some Obeah Customs," was also read.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Powell.

VALENTINE'S DAY CUSTOM AT NORTHREPPS.

BY MR. W. B. GERISH.

Mr. R. D. Gurney has kindly forwarded me the following note, which is quite new to me, and may be to other folklorists :—

“As long as can be remembered by the old people, it has been the custom for the children, some seventy more or less, going very early in the morning of the 14th February to the chief houses, where they sing :

“ ‘ Good morrow, Valentine,
How it do Hail.

When Father's pig die,
Yow shall ha' its tail.

“ ‘ Good morrow, Valentine,
How thundering Hot.

When Father's pig die,
Yow shall ha' its jot.’

“The rest of the time is whiled away in School-Board songs. The custom is not known in the neighbouring villages, as far as I know.”

The jot, I may say, is the tripe or intestines of the pig, and is the peculiar delicacy of the poorer class in Norfolk. I do not think the tail can be considered a *bonne bouche*.

CURSING-STONES IN COUNTIES FERMANAGH,
CAVAN, Etc.

BY MR. G. H. KINAHAN, M.R.I.A., ETC.

Not many years ago, but it seems to have died out now, there was a system of cursing in common vogue in Fermanagh with tenants who had been given notice to quit. This was : they collected, from all over their farms, stones. These they brought home, and having put a lighted coal in the fireplace, they heaped the stones on it as if they had been sods of turf. They then knelt down on the hearth-stone, and prayed that as long as the stones remained unburnt every conceivable curse might light on their land-

lord, his children, and their children to all generations. To prevent the stones by any possibility being burnt, as soon as they had finished cursing, they took the stones and scattered them far and wide over the whole country. Many of the former families of the county are said now to have disappeared on account of being thus cursed.

Near Black Lion, at the extreme north of the co. Cavan, there is a cursing-stone. It is a large horizontal slab, with twelve or thirteen bullâns or basins cut in it, and in each bullân, save one, there is a large round stone. The curser takes up one of the stones and places it in the empty basin—and so on, one after another, till all have been gone over. During the movement he is cursing his enemy, and if he removes all the stones without letting any one of them slip (no easy operation, on account of their form), his curses will have effect, but not otherwise. If he lets one slip, the curses will return on his own head. In South-West Donegal (I forget the name of the place) there is a somewhat similar cursing-stone, except that it has only five bullâns. In Castle Forward deer-park it is said that there was another cursing-stone of this type, but some years ago it was dismantled, and half the horizontal slab carried away. Castle Forward is on the road from Newtown Cunningham to Londonderry, near the eastern mearing of the co. Donegal.

RELIGIOUS TABLEAUX IN ITALIAN CHURCHES,
WITH SOME NOTES ON VOTIVE OFFERINGS.

BY MR. W. H. D. ROUSE.

One of the chief points which distinguished mediæval religion from modern was its intensely dramatic character. In an age when there were few books, teaching was largely conveyed through the eye. One can hardly now imagine what a city must have looked like when all the people kept holiday to see the Miracle-Plays—the chief streets lined from end to end ; stands and scaffoldings erected in the

squares, while the scenes came past one by one, and all the great events of Biblical history were presented, crudely, no doubt, but with intense vividness.

Of all this picture and drama, what remains? We have still a few "Books of the Words"; some means of finding out the nature of the stage properties; old missals and illuminated MSS. contain paintings of many scenes, notably that of Hellmouth, which must have been suggested by what was visible on all sides to the sightseer. But, besides these fossil remains, we can still see in Roman Catholic countries a few scant revivals. The religious drama is almost gone; a little is still left of religious tableaux.

The germ of all this mass of custom is to be looked for in the Church itself. There, at solemn festivals of the Church, such as Easter, a small performance was gone through. On Maundy-Thursday, for instance, two hosts were consecrated, one of which was consumed on Good Friday, and the other, with a crucifix, placed in a box or cupboard called the Easter Sepulchre. This was generally a temporary wooden erection, but some churches had them made of stone. A few still remain in England, always on the north side, while we have record of the erection of one in the chapel of Christ's College in Cambridge, in its building accounts under the heading of June 1st, 1510:

"Item to John Grandon of Euersdon for iij tonne of the said ston at iiij^s viij^d the tonne for thymages of cristes resurreccion and of our ladie xiv^s."

Under 30th August the sepulchre is mentioned. In this, then, the host was placed, and from Friday to Sunday it was guarded by living watchers. On Easter Sunday the host and the crucifix were taken out, and a solemn service was performed.¹ Something of the nature of this may be inferred from a curious list of properties, apparently belonging to the Easter celebration, preserved in Sir John Harington's *Nugæ Antiquæ*.

¹ For some of the above details I am indebted to an article by Professor J. H. Middleton, in *Christ's College Magazine*, No. 2, p. 9.

"Item, that Maister Canynge hath deliver'd, this 4th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1470, to Maister Nicholas Petters, Vicar of St. Mary Redcliffe; Moses Conterin, Philip Barthelemew, Procurators of St. Mary Redcliffe, aforesaid; a new sepulchre well gilt with golde, and a civer thereto.

"Item, Therto longeth Heaven, made of timber and stain'd clothes.

"Item, Hell, made of timber and ironwork thereto, with Divels to the number of 13.

"Item, 4 knights armed, keeping the sepulchre, with their weapons in their hands; that is to say, 2 axes and 2 spears, with 2 pares.

"Item, 4 payr of Angels wings for 4 Angels, made of timber and well painted.

"Item, the Fadre, the Crowne, and Visage,¹ the Well with a Cross upon it, well gilt with fine gould.

"Item, the Holy Ghosht coming out of Heaven into the sepulchre.

"Item, longeth to the 4 Angels 4 Chevaliers."

I have not seen, nor have I been able to learn, whether anything of this kind is still done in Italy. It is the Christmas celebrations, which die hardest, that are the subject of the following pages.

The *Presepio* is a representation of the Nativity. Many churches have one, usually those where the poor frequent. Thither come the people, bearing humble gifts of chesnuts, apples, tomatoes, and the like, which they place as offerings. in the hands of the figures. These are very often life-size. Mary is usually robed in blue satin, with crimson scarf and white head-dress. Joseph stands near her dressed in the ordinary working garb. The onlookers are got up like Italian contadini. The Magi are always very prominent, in their grand clothes, with satin trains borne by black slaves, jewelled turbans, and satin tunics all over jewels.

¹ Perhaps the Veronica, called *sudere* in the Coventry lists.

They are represented as handsome men in the prime of life. One is always black in complexion, the others a light brown, and darker than the Italians. They reverently kneel to do homage, and bring costly offerings. The grandeur of the scene and the grouping sometimes remind one irresistibly of the great picture of the same scene by Veronese, in the Dresden Gallery. A general idea may be got from this picture, but most are not so elaborate.

(1) *The Bambino in Sta. Maria in Araceli* (Rome).—At Christmastide this church (which stands on the site of the old citadel of Rome) offers a very pretty sight. It is thronged with children, who seem to regard it as their own special church. Rows of them kneel round the altar rails, the older folk giving place. But the great attraction is towards the west end, where one of the side chapels is filled with a representation of the Nativity. There in the centre stands Joseph; there sits Mary beside him, holding an image of the Child, gorgeously dressed in colours and jewels. The jewels on this image are very precious, and it is the chief treasure of the church. Afar off may be seen the Magi approaching, very small, to give the idea of perspective. All around are figures of onlookers, one, dressed in modern Italian costume, doing homage. The clouds are full of painted angels. All is "put on" in stage-fashion, with projecting side scenes and vistas, and side lights turned on with very pretty effect. Hawkers sell rough prints of the famous Bambino outside, one of which is sent herewith. Most of the churches at this season have a figure of the Holy Child over the altar.

The images in this Presepio were given thirty years ago by Prince Alexander Torlonia, and the old ones were sold or made away with. There used to be a group of *Augustus* and the *Tiburtine Sibyl*, who pointed out the Child, who appeared in the sky surrounded by a halo of light. Their figures are still in the church, painted one on each side of the arch above the high altar. The legend goes that Augustus raised an altar on the site of this church to the

Son of God, whose advent was made known to him from the Sibylline Books.¹

On the opposite side of the church is another pretty sight. There stands a table, on which are raised one after another a number of little children, chiefly girls, who recite with suitable action and much dramatic effect, verses in honour of the Child. This they do for several days each year at the Christmas season.

(2) *Sta. Maria in Portico* (Naples).—This contains one of the finest *Presepe*. It fills nearly half one side of the church. In the centre is a very large grotto, wherein are the Holy Family in the usual position. Above, just inside, a dove hovers, from which shine golden rays diverging inwards. There are five Wise Men, one kneeling. Around are archways, meant for the doors of houses, at which are peasants standing, many bearing gifts of vegetables or fruit. Some of the scenes are realistic—a lad sleeping on the straw in a straw hut; or an *osteria*, with a large bottle and glass on a table. All about, above the grotto, over the hills and far away, come flocking the devout, peering over the side to catch a glimpse, tripping daintily down a hill-path, in all sorts of postures and positions. Flocks of sheep graze hard by; horses and mules, dogs, and other animals, are seen here and there. In the air are hosts of flying cherubs and angels holding muslin festoons, or maybe a scroll with *Gloria in Excelsis*.

There are thirty-six figures in this tableau, life-size, made of wood, cleverly carved and coloured, and clothed in real dresses. The peasants wear the country dress; the Magi, as usual, Oriental costume, carefully studied from pictures. Two of the figures represent the artist and his wife; she is a beautiful woman, in modern festa costume, surrounded by a flock of very woolly sheep.

(3) *Franciscan Church and Convent of Piedigrotta*.—The *Presepio* here was on a smaller scale, but worth seeing. The figures are about 2 feet high, but all in perfect pro-

¹ See Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 25.

portion. The distant parts are put in perspective; little figures advance from hills and châteaux, bearing gifts, all in size proportioned to the distance. Here the whole life of a peasant is represented to suggest the life at Nazareth—a village with shops; a little tavern prepared for travellers, with food, wine, and cooking utensils; people buying or selling, eating and drinking. This *Presepio* had splendid dresses for the Magi, whose camels and retinue with their presents filled much of the foreground. One aged Magus, with white hair, had literally cast his crown at the feet of the Child, and knelt before Him in deep devotion, presenting gold, frankincense, and myrrh. He wore a long white satin robe, beautifully embroidered in silk, and a magnificent tunic. The other two Magi, black and brown, wore their crowns of tinsel, but, perhaps, were supposed to remove them on doing homage. They were behind the aged king, and were dressed with equal magnificence in satin and brodered silk, and chains of gilding. Each king was attended by a very handsome boy, dressed as a page, who bore his train. Camels and sumptuous mules were in the distance, covered with embroidered hangings. There were many pretty children and girls, exquisitely carved in wood, their features distinct and artistic; and many shepherds and peasants going or coming on the distant mountains. The angels were surmounted by a large scroll of *Gloria in Excelsis*. The shepherds were mostly asleep under trees.

(4) Another *Presepio* was in *Sta. Ursula a Chiaga* (Naples). In this the figures were smaller and more numerous, and more was shown of the distant village, with its daily life. Many incidents were introduced behind—St. John the Baptist, old Elizabeth, and Zachariah, of course bearded and white-haired; the Magi, clad in their long dresses and gay attire; Peter, an elderly rustic; Nicodemus, a fine young man, in velvet and gold; and others, forming a background to the Holy Family, who are small, finished figures, with the usual accessories—wonderfully graphic, though nothing but wood, paint, and

pasteboard. There was a great deal of country scenery in this one, and in the distance what looked like pilgrimages; elaborate trees, rocks, and stones, with people of all ages resting and eating, amongst them St. Anne, at a very advanced age. The poor people revelled in it all, pointing to the figures: "Ecco, come si mangia, come si fa!" you heard at every turn; and mothers held up dirty, ragged children to show them these wonders.

(5) Another *Presepio* may be mentioned, that of *Gesù Vecchio*. This being in a very old part of the city, only frequented by the very poor, was more shabbily got up, and the dresses of the Virgin and St. Joseph and the Babe more tawdry. There were the usual figures of Magi and their black boy-pages; angels with paper wings flapping; peasants and corn: but done in calico and tinsel, of a style about as good as might be seen in any English country fair. But the poor people were equally happy in gazing on it; and this had the additional attraction of a presentment of the Massacre of the Innocents in another niche of the church. The poor little babes were all represented dead, each held by one foot by a rough-helmeted and armed Roman soldier, who flourished his sword in the other hand, and seemed to "mock the ruin he had wrought". Agonised women, apparently running hither and thither, and begging for the little bleeding bodies with heart-rending earnestness—this was really touching, spite of its artistic coarseness. Herod, with a large gilt crown, sat high above, under a stately canopy, dressed in royal robes, feasting his eyes on his cruel work. This tragedy seemed quite fresh to the children and ignorant women looking on at it, and they were full of sympathy and grief, and many in tears.

* * * For some of the foregoing I am indebted to a MS. of the late Miss M. Oldfield, who lived for some time in Naples. She kindly let me copy her notes, and Nos. 3-5 are taken with very little alteration from them.

ITALIAN VOTIVE OFFERINGS.

BY MR. W. H. D. ROUSE.

A very pretty custom of ancient Greece and Rome was the laying of votive offerings before the shrines of their gods. This is found amongst all ancient nations and most modern ones ; but it is amongst the Greeks and Romans that it was commonest. Every crisis of life—birth, marriage, and death, sickness and safety—served as the occasion for some offering. It is not now my idea to deal with the ancient practice—that I hope to do on another opportunity—but to point out a few places where the old tradition has been kept up to the present day. Nothing is more noteworthy than the persistency of popular custom in religion ; all through the classic lands can be seen the same things done as were done two thousand years ago, with just so much change as the social changes of these years have made inevitable.

In many churches on the Continent may be seen votive limbs and figures hung up in token of thanks for recovery from some sickness or danger. Images of this sort, in metal, stone, or terra-cotta, have been excavated on the sites of many ancient sanctuaries ; and again, as the ancients consecrated images of their gods in the temples, so the modern peasant consecrates plaster images of the Virgin. Sometimes these votive limbs are hung up in street shrines, as I have seen in Naples. A fine collection of glass and china eyes, some very large, hang in the little chapel of St. Ottilien (Black Forest), where there is a spring, still held sacred, which is believed to have healing power for the eyes. The Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, in Venice, contains a shrine of S. Vincenzo, who is credited with the power of healing cripples by miracle. Beside it hang a number of modelled limbs, and the crutches of the patients.

But my present purpose is to describe two collections of

*Votive Pictures.*¹ These are in the church of *Aracoeli*, on the Capitoline Hill at Rome, and in *S. Nicolo* at Verona, which contains more than one hundred of them. The pictures have much the same character. They are small oil paintings, 10 to 12 inches square, coarsely painted. Most of them belong to the last century, but one bears date as late as 1892. They have on them the letters P.G.R. (= *per grazia ricevuta*), and often an inscription, with the name, circumstances, and EX VOTO. They depict people in all sorts of predicaments. The commonest type is one or more persons in sick-bed, with or without friends praying by the bedside.² In the air usually hovers the patron saint, or the Virgin; sometimes a group of heavenly beings is shown in the clouds, while below are others suffering the pangs of purgatory. We see a boy tumbling from a ladder; a child falling downstairs; several have a man run over by a cart; or a cart falls over a precipice; a building falls, carrying some workmen with it; and so forth. On one are seen shipwrecked mariners on a raft; a boat comes up to rescue them. Another shows an attempted murder and robbery outside the Amphitheatre at Verona, which is unmistakably portrayed in the background (P. G. R., 1647, M. P.). Here are some specimens of the legends. Two women and a man are welcomed by two nuns at a convent door; beneath which we read: *Tre Germani traviati il gran Gaetano conduce a Dio con invisibil mano*. The greater number of those at Verona are hung in the corridors, which are so dark that it is hard to see them; but within the church are more recent offerings, frames containing an inscription only, as this:—

¹ In *Oropa*, three hours from Turin by rail, and *Locarno*, there are others of great interest, which I have not seen. They are just mentioned by S. Butler (*Alps and Sanctuaries*, pp. 220, 350), who gives a sketch of one (p. 160).

² There is one such in the Pantheon at Rome.

P. G. R. fissai lo scuado nella tua vaga imago e fui esaudita Maggio 1888
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One picture, curiously realistic, represents two scenes. In the first, a man dressed irreproachably in tail-coat and tall hat—perhaps an Englishman?—sits in a dog-cart with the horse running away. He looks horribly frightened, throws up his arms in despair, and his tall hat has got knocked on to the back of his head. Back to back with this is the same dog-cart, the horse stopping quietly at a door. The man looks happy, and his hat has got straight again. There is no division in the painting between the two sides but two separate scenes are evidently meant.

The last I shall describe is in Rome. Here also two scenes are shown, but the painting is better finished, and each has a half of the tablet to itself. On the right, a lady, fashionably dressed, kneels before an altar in some church, holding a lighted taper in her hand. On the left, two gentlemen in evening dress are fighting a pistol duel; in the air hovers a saint in monk's garb, surrounded by a cloud of fire. Beneath is written: *Zelia B. Lugduni A. MDCCCXCII, die xiv Iunii, praesentit divinitus discrimen in Megalopoli Huberto B. imminere. Antonium patronum precata averuncet malum omne, bonus praesens deflectit ictum singulari certamine.*

Such are these tokens of a simple faith, which still holds its own in this matter-of-fact age. They are worthy of a fuller description than can be given here; and out of the survivals of old-world religion which still remain in Christian countries, a most interesting book might be made.

MEETING OF NOVEMBER 15th, 1893.

THE following Papers and Notes were read at this meeting, the proceedings of which have already been chronicled (*Folk-Lore*, iv, pp. 532-33).

Mr. GERISH noted as current in the Great Yarmouth district the belief that usually a person whose life has been saved from death by drowning ever afterwards had a strong aversion to (amounting sometimes to a positive hatred of) his or her rescuer, and added "Is this a local belief simply, or does it express a physiological fact, which would, of course, entirely upset the idea of the hero rescuing the heroine who marries him from gratitude? The belief would not seem to apply to rescue from death in any other form."

It was pointed out in discussion that the belief was widespread and frequent, and it was suggested that it would be desirable to ascertain its present prevalency.

Mr. SEWELL communicated the following incidents in two trials for murder which have taken place before him in South India:—

It is great waste of time to consider the meaning and relation of facts if the facts are doubtful. It therefore seems necessary to say that I will vouch for the accuracy of the following notes. The facts came before me in the course of two trials for murder, which it was my duty as an Indian Judge to hold in 1892. The papers are all in India; if they were here, I could make the statement fuller and more definite; but the trials having been for murder, and an Indian Judge being both judge and jury, the facts are very distinct in my recollection.

The first case is that of a murder by way of sacrifice to discover hidden treasure.

The common belief in India is that buried treasure is watched by an evil spirit or demon. It is of no use to dig

for it without propitiating this demon, for he will make the treasure shift its place, so that even if one digs where it is buried one will not find it.

In the case in question, the body of a Brahmin girl, aged six or seven years, was found in a well. The owner of the house adjoining the well was arrested, and confessed that a Bairâgi (or religious ascetic) living in the house had told him that treasure was buried in the house and could be found by means of a human sacrifice to propitiate the guardian demon.

He went on to confess that he, the Bairâgi, and two others had decoyed the girl into the house while she was on her way to school, by giving her some fruit, that she was then taken to the family worshipping-room, gagged and bound. The religious ascetic then repeated certain charms, and attempted to kill her with a sword; but the sword proving too blunt, the poor child was strangled. They at once dug for the treasure, but found none, on which the religious ascetic said that the demon must have removed the treasure, and that they must look for it again. The man who confessed said that they were on the look-out for another child.

When the ascetic was called on for his defence, he said: "It was not this body that did it." When questioned what he meant, he went off into incoherencies, and ended by denying that he had taken any part in the murder. Many of these people believe (or profess to believe) in the existence of something like astral bodies; but it is uncertain what this man meant, as he did not adhere to that line of defence.

The other case presents many details of interest. The victim in this case was a boy of twelve or thirteen. His body was found lying in an oleander garden on the banks of a river a little way from the village where he lived. A man was arrested trying to sell some of the deceased boy's ornaments. He confessed taking part in the murder with a number of others, and stated that the instigator of the

crime was a young man of the clerk or shopkeeper caste, and that the boy was murdered to make up a love-philtre, one of the ingredients of which had to be the blood of an eldest son. This Chetti seems to have told the rest of the gang—all young men—that a charm compounded from the blood of an eldest son would enable them to obtain possession of any woman. When the boy was murdered his throat was cut and the Chetti caught the blood in a cocoa-nut shell and carried it away.

When this Chetti's house was searched two books were found in it. One of them contained a number of receipts, among them love-charms.

In one of these, one of the ingredients appeared to be a first-born child, but it was very difficult to give any intelligible meaning to the charm, which appeared to consist of disjointed words and phrases. An old Brahmin purôhit, or family priest, was examined by the prosecution to explain the charm. He was, however, very unwilling publicly to admit any knowledge of black magic, insisting that he was only acquainted with white magic, and knew very little about the evil spells. He explained, however, what I think will interest this Society, that the various charms used in Hindoo magic were handed down by oral tradition, and that what was committed to writing and found in the book produced were only a few catch-words to prevent the charm from being totally forgotten. Thus these charms or spells become genuine folk-lore.

There was more definite result from the other book found. This was a MS. book in the writing of the Chetti, and contained, among other things, eight diagrams, each drawn on one page of the book. Each page was headed with a title, written, like all the rest, in the Tamil language.

These eight titles corresponded to the Ashta-Karma, or eight principal divisions of Hindoo magic, such as causing the death of any person, causing a spirit or absent person to appear, obtaining possession of a woman, etc. I have

here a photographic facsimile of one these charms, that for causing the death of a person, and shall be happy to place it at the disposal of anyone who may wish to see it. It would be very interesting to know if it bears any resemblance to the charms used for such purposes in other countries.

Under each charm are : the day of the week appropriate to each charm ; the proper planet ; point of the compass ; object, such as silk cloth, tiger skin, etc., on which the magician must take his stand when repeating the charm, etc. For the death charm, the day is Saturday, the planet is Saturn, the material is lead.

If it would be of any use to the Society, I should be happy to get the pages of this book photographed, and the charms (which are in the Tamil language) transliterated and translated. Some part consists of mystic syllables, which can only be transliterated.

The old Brahmin family-priest said that the Chetti had boasted to him that he could produce showers of stones at will, upon which the old priest gave a long account of the edifying reproof he administered of the practice of such arts.

If, however, such things are standard parts of magic, and are handed down by oral tradition, it might go far to explain how such phenomena are the same in different ages, and if any connection can be traced in the matter of magical arts, in different countries. For this purpose it would be very interesting to compare these charms used in South India with those used in other countries, if any specimens are available.

Much interest was felt in the terms *white* and *black* magic used by Mr. Sewell, and he was asked if he had exactly translated the native words. He replied that he had, and it was elicited that the native significance was precisely similar to that which these terms bear in European folklore.

ON SOME OF THE EARLIEST EXISTING RACES OF
THE PLAINS OF SOUTH INDIA.

BY MR. F. FAWCETT.

South India, a field second to none in value for investigation of the human animal in relation to his conditions, the early course of his civilisation, and the like, is almost an unknown country. If ever there was a country where the value of the science of folk-lore can be fully exemplified and justified, here is one, full of the strangest medley of races.

It is noteworthy that the usually scattered communities of the earliest races of the plains of South India are invariably either *distinctly* criminal or *entirely* harmless. All are, even now when the schoolmaster is very much about, almost to a man unlearned. They are not the agriculturists, or the workers in metals, or the weavers, or the traders, but the people who prey upon these ordinary and useful members of society. They are also the hunters. The nomadic Yanadis, Erakalas, Koravas, and the Kullens are some of these depredators and hunters, who are responsible for by far the greater part of the crime of the country. On the other hand, there are the Pullers of Tinnevely in the extreme south, who are perfectly harmless and inoffensive, though perhaps deserving the lowest place on the list for culture and intelligence.

There is, so far as my research goes, amongst the aboriginal races of South India of the hills or plains, no trace of a beneficent Deity, who, wherever we meet him, is of Hindu, or, we might say, Aryan origin.

I propose to attempt some description of the Wadders and of the Kullens, both of the class Dravidian. First, the Wadders, more or less nomadic, found nearly all over South India. They are somewhat of an exception to the criminal class, in that their life is not entirely criminal. They are the earth-workers, the diggers of all kinds of earthworks, tanks, wells, railway embankments, canals, and

so on. Men, women, and children work all together. They also do the rough stone-work, blasting and carting rough stone for building or for roads; most valuable allies when excavating cromlechs and the like, for their practical knowledge is wonderful, and they are right good workers. Altogether throughout South India they number about half a million. Physique good; character bold and somewhat desperate. Their dress is that of the lower Sudra castes. The trident-like mark of Vishnu is marked with white and red clay powders on the forehead, arms, and breast of the men. Women wear bangles on one arm only. As is well known, the Hindu marriage token, or wedding-ring, is the *tâli*, a circular bit of thin, flat gold, about the size of a shilling, worn on a string round the neck. The Wadders' marriage token is a string of black beads. They have a legend that once on a time a *tâli* was not ready at the time of a marriage, and a string of beads was substituted for it. It is, however, likely that the Hindu token was never adopted.

The wearing of beads, usually of white clay or shell, to express some attachment or devotion to certain deities, is common in South India, and necklaces of this kind (exhibit 2), which answer some religious as well as ornamental purpose, are common.

Socially, the Wadders rank with barbers, above the Parias and lower castes. They eat all animal food, and drink freely of liquor.

Rats, and even jackals, they will eat. I remember how the Wadders about Bangalore spoiled our hunting by eating up numbers of the jackals and foxes.

Criminal gangs of these Wadders—all are criminally inclined—are quite regardless of the bodily pain they may inflict. Children are case-hardened early, and taught lying, which, strange to say, is not natural; but they turn out clumsy thieves.

A game the men play is a sort of rehearsal of their exploits in the dark, and is intended to develop their senses as well as their skill. A man, blind-folded, stands in the

centre of a circle of his comrades. One makes some noise. The man in the centre must *instantly* throw a stone at the man who made it, or, at any rate, in his direction. When the stone is thrown the wrong way the thrower is chaffed unmercifully.

Thus they learn to mark with a stone anyone approaching in the dark to disturb their criminal operations, knowing exactly where a man is by the sound of his voice or by the noise he makes in walking.

They have never been known to betray a friend or confess a crime.

Salutations they have none ; but when one arrives from a long journey he is given water to wash his feet. If he bears bad news, as of a death, he must not enter a house until he has been taken to the liquor shop, and given plenty of liquor to drink.

Their money is squandered in drinking and gambling.

Sons inherit their father's property, the share of the eldest being the largest. Daughters and mothers are sometimes given a little of the property, but they have no intrinsic right to any.

There are two tribes: (1) the supposed descendants of Gunju Raju, a king ; and (2) the supposed descendants of Svanna Mâdva, his minister ; each sub-divided in gôtrams, or inter-tribal divisions. Margosa tree, cloth, wall, cot, mud-pot, basket, axe, patience, tamarind, naked, cheat, stone, hedge—are the names of some of these, derived, so they say, from some observed connection between the folk of a gôtram and some physical object or characteristic trait. All within (1) are considered to be brothers and sisters, and cannot intermarry ; so they must marry into (2), who for the same reason must marry into (1) ; (2) is inferior to (1).

In all tribal or folk gatherings and marriages there is a man of (2) called the "Saduyagâdu", whose office it is to attend as may be required, make arrangements and so on, for which he receives regular fees. He has an assistant, a

man of (1), descended from the king—by a *concubine*. Any offence offered to either of these when on duty is punishable by fine.

Offences of the nature of slight personal injury, refusing to pay a small debt, and such like, are settled by a tribal court, the injured party receiving compensation. One refusing to abide by the sentence which is awarded is boycotted—cannot draw water from the well, no one will eat with him or enter his house, no one will give him fire, and he is disallowed the privilege of the general assistance of the caste should he require it.

“Where there are ten men God is present”, is the usual formula of oath, which reminds us of “Where two or three are gathered together, etc.”; in important cases a man swears by a child which he holds in his arms.

The ceremonies connected with marriage make it rather an elaborate affair. First there is the betrothal, for which an auspicious day is chosen by consulting a Brahmin astrologer. The bridegroom is taken by his parents to the bride’s hut—a small, circular, thatched construction of mud walls and conical roof, like a large beehive.

“Saduyagâdu” spreads out a sheet, around which the parents and near relatives of the bride and bridegroom sit on mats, bridegroom facing east. When ordered by the company, “Saduyagâdu” brings betel, flowers, etc., and places them on the sheet. Bridegroom then produces six four-anna pieces (about the size of sixpence, but at present worth much less), one of which he gives to the parents of the bride for toe-rings and a string of black beads, the marriage tokens, and the other four pieces he gives into the custody of the “Saduyagâdu”, who keeps them towards the wedding feast. The parents of both parties stand on opposite sides of the sheet; “Saduyagâdu” puts betel nuts and flowers in their hands and asks them to declare their consent for the marriage of their offspring; this they do, and the marriage day is fixed. But if there is a death in either family, or among their cattle, or if either party

sees a snake in the house, or is stung by a scorpion, or suffers under any serious calamity before the marriage day arrives, the betrothal is cancelled and the parents of the bride return the four-anna piece to the bridegroom. The food and liquor consumed by all present at the betrothal are paid for by the bridegroom.

The marriage takes place where the bride lives ; a shed, roofed over with mango and some other leaves, being erected for purposes of ceremonial in front of her hut. Mango leaves tied across the streets and doorways on occasions of festivity are very common throughout the country. They are considered to be decorative, as well as conveying some subtle auspiciousness. In the afternoon the bridegroom invites the caste-folk to his wedding, presenting each man, woman, and child with three betel nuts, five betel leaves, one-sixteenth of a measure (which is about 2 lb.) of rice, and one-eighth of a measure of green gram. The gram is cooked and eaten. After dark the Saduyagâdu escorts some married women to fetch water in two pots from a well, at which they are presented with red powder, some saffron, and betel leaves. It is impossible to stop here to consider the general use of saffron and its substitute, turmeric, in Hindu ceremonial. Suffice to say its use conveys some subtle meaning underlying its colour. Music is played while they are going and returning. The pots of water are smeared over with lime, and carried by the women, while a canopy of cloth, tied at the corner to sticks, is held over their heads by four men to the house of the bride, where bride and bridegroom are seated in different apartments (of a few square yards, the hut being very small), on the head of each a sheet, from the centre of each sheet is a thread, the end fastened to a bit of saffron laid on a heap of rice, and in front of each is placed one of the pots of water. The married women then oil the pair about to be made happy from head to foot, first the bridegroom and then the bride, and after this performance the pair are

seated side by side, each on a wooden mortar (an upright log of wood with a hole in the top, used for pounding grain), while the caste-folk chaff them in terms neither remarkably delicate nor subtly allusive. They are separated after awhile, and dressed in new cloths. A woollen thread, to which is fastened a bit of saffron, is tied round the left wrist of the bride, and the same is tied round the right wrist of the bridegroom, who is at the same time armed with a dagger. Again they are brought together, the corners of their clothes are tied, and, holding hands, they enter the bride's room, while some songs are sung; in a few minutes they are once more separated.

At midnight, the Saduyagâdu goes off with a torch and procures a branch of a certain tree which he fixes firmly in the ground in front of the bridegroom, brings a wooden mortar, and with a cloth that has been worn by the bridegroom, ties it to the branch. The use of the wooden mortar in England for quite another ceremony is no doubt well known to you. Under date 1677, I see that at Sandwich, Isle of Thanet :—"A woman carries the wooden mortar throughout the town, hanging on an old broom upon her shoulder, one going before her tinkling a small bell, for abusing Mrs. Mayoress."

The pots of water, it should be noted, must not on any account be touched by anyone, nor must the lamps be extinguished. So important are these particulars, that a certain individual is told off to look after them.

Between 2 and 3 A.M. the bridal pair are seated in front of the branch, and in presence of all the caste-folk the bridegroom ties the string of black beads round the bride's neck. They pour rice over each other, and the elders pour some over both. This rice is retained for the feast to follow. The bride is removed to her chamber, and the bridegroom is asked to draw the branch out of the ground—a test of his strength which, if he is unable to fulfil, he is ashamed, and it is done for him.

Next morning all regather, and the bridegroom gives

the bride's parents (for the bride) a nose-ring and eight rupees, the *oli* or purchase-money for the bride, and distributes some rupees (twelve at least) amongst his caste-folk. The pair are again oiled and bathed, and they swear eternal fidelity to each other by pouring milk over each other's head. Again they are washed in warm water, a pot of which is brought for the purpose by each family in the convention; they are dressed and taken to the bride's room, a fowl being sacrificed at the threshold, and their foreheads marked with its blood ere they enter. But before they are given admittance they have to submit to another ordeal. The male members of the bride's family obstruct them, using language which is rather more forcible than polite. "You son of a whore, who are you? You cannot come in here, unless you call her beside your mother." "My pimps and slaves", rejoins the bridegroom, "I have purchased her, so she is not my mother." Conversation, illumined by sprightly wit of this kind, is bandied about, they enter the room, sit together awhile, and are yet again separated. The marriage is now complete. The pots of water are emptied over a green tree, and the pot that was in the bride's room is taken by the bridegroom, and the pot that was in the bridegroom's room is taken by the bride. The bridegroom takes his wife to his house, where he feasts his kinsmen, and afterwards retires with his bride in her hut.

Altogether the marriage affair is anything but a joke, and both parties are likely to remember it.

Girls are married usually after puberty, but they are sometimes married before it. Widows may remarry as often as seven times; but the second or after ceremony is not elaborate—a new cloth and six rupees to the woman and a good feed to the caste-folk settles the business. A second wife is allowed only with the first wife's consent, or, in the case of her refusal, when she is given a sufficient settlement.

There is nothing remarkable about the birth ceremonies.

The midwife is given a fee of four annas in the case of a son, and two annas in the case of a daughter ; her remuneration not being in proportion to her skill, but to the relative value of the infant she assists into the world. On the 10th or 15th day, mother and child are washed and adorned by the married women, who bring warm water, saffron, oil, etc., for the purpose, and the mother distributes betel—a conventional civility, like offering afternoon tea—and prepares a meal for all present.

The dead are usually buried quite naked, the cloths being discarded at the grave. Leaves are spread over the bodies of women before the earth is filled in. Grain and other food and burning camphor are always left at the grave. If a death takes place on an unlucky day, a fowl, a piece of iron, some salt, and some lamp-oil, are buried with the corpse. On the third day after death, food (flesh or fish and rice) is placed on the grave: or if the deceased was a child, milk is poured over the grave. The food is carried on leaves of the Bilva tree, *Aegle marmelos*; it is held in great sanctity by the Saivite sects, who will not on any account touch any part of it except for some holy purpose. Those who carried the corpse are fed on their return home.

The final ceremony for the dead is performed on the 11th or 15th day after death. A sheep is killed and the meat is cooked. If the deceased was a man, his widow, dressed in her best cloths and decked with jewels, is taken to the grave, where her bangles (the common sort usually, made of glass or a compound of wax) are broken, her necklace of black beads is removed, and, leaving some food on the grave, the widow is taken to a stream and bathed, and her toe-rings are removed and broken. She is then given a new cloth, called a "widow's covering", and thenceforth she is not allowed to use saffron for personal adornment. When the deceased was a woman, her husband is treated in much the same style. After he has been bathed his

moustache is shaved off and his waist-string is cut, and he is given a new cloth. This part of the ceremony is, for men and women, of a purificatory nature. The end of the ceremony is a good feed, on the sheep that was killed, with rice, etc., in which those present are supposed to be joined by the ancestors.

The spirits of ancestors are fed on all occasions of festivity. Venkatêsu, the Vaishnava deity of the famous Tirupati shrine—which is not very far from where these notes were made—to which pilgrims flock from every part of India, is their chief god, but the malicious village goddesses, Poleramma, Ellamma, and others, as well as ancestral spirits, are given the most attention. Ancestral spirits are worshipped and fed after every death.

The Margosa tree (*Melia azadirachta*) is likewise worshipped by the Wadders, whose regard for certain trees, a leaf, a branch, a fruit of which they will not touch, after which certain of their gotrams are called, seems to give the idea that totemism once obtained amongst them.

They have a tradition of their having been at one time a warlike people of the Lunar race, under their own king; and account for their dispersion and present condition of wanderers in the following manner:—Their king put to death several goldsmiths, because a man of that caste had misappropriated some of the gold which the king had given him to form into a jewel. Those who survived this act of tyranny resolved on revenge, and having retired into a fort which held some magical properties, induced the king and his minister to visit them in order to witness a play, and having got them comfortably seated on mats, blew them up with gunpowder, which had been concealed beneath the mats. For having thus successfully out-rivalled Guy Fawkes they were obliged to flee in all directions; and so they became dispersed, and digging the earth is their occupation.

Unless we agree with Dr. Oppert that gunpowder was known to the earliest inhabitants of India of whom we

have any written record, we must (rightly, I think) put down this legend to tolerably modern invention.

Now for the Kullens, the "savage Collieries" of Orme. *Kullen*, by the way, is the Tamil word for "thief".

The stock to which they belong is divided as follows: Kullen, Ahambadiyan, Vambi Maravan, Kothali Maravan, Konddya-Kothai Maravan, and these are again subdivided. These do not intermarry, nor do they eat together; yet they are brethren. "We are one," they say. Altogether they number about a million and a quarter. Deducting the Ahambadiyans (who are much more Hinduised than the others, and much less harmful), there are about three-quarters of a million of Kullens and Maravans; and these live almost entirely by plunder. By crime positively, and by blackmail negatively. They are notorious as the principal exponents of gang-robbery, cattle-lifting, and thieving generally, in the three southernmost districts, Trichinopoly, Madura, and Tinnevely. Unlike other marauders of the Presidency, they choose bright moonlight for their exploits on the road, and will not hesitate to attack Europeans. A year ago or so they stopped and robbed a train almost within hail of the military cantonment, Trichinopoly.

The men who engage in these affairs are not always impelled thereto by the heavy hand of want. Far from it. Maravan and Kullen farmers, who possess cattle, land, and all-sufficiency for comfortable maintenance, will, for the pure love of the thing, go off on an expedition, assist in half-a-dozen gang robberies, and return richer perhaps by a few rupees. Neglect of these noble pursuits involves forfeiture of all favour from the women—who, of course, are more conservative than the men; and the individual who, thinking the game not worth the candle, wishes to confine his energies to agriculture, is compelled to do mischief, much as the old Border chief, if he dallied long at home at ease, found his spurs served up for dinner by the ladies of his establishment. Deep delight in

robbery is in their blood, and they are not deterred even by exile to the Andaman Islands. The wild, weird howl of the Kullen women, when transportation to the "island beyond the sea" is the doom of a Kullen gang, shows how this form of restraint is appreciated.

Cattle-lifting is a perennial source of enjoyment. No matter where or how securely kept, cattle are never safe from the Kullens.

Their popular game is an exhibition of skill in dealing with savage animals. The most savage bull is led by ropes; a handkerchief is tied round its horns or round its neck. The victor is he who can get the handkerchief after the bull is let loose. Off it goes at full speed across country towards its home, from which it has been taken several miles. The Kullens dance in front of it like fiends, tempt it this way and that, lying flat on the ground to avoid being gored, dodging in every conceivable way, until at last one man seizes the handkerchief. Several villages join in this, and there is a jollification.

Their great skill in thieving, and their persistence in using it, enables the Kullens to levy blackmail far and wide. It is impossible, without being wearisome, to convey to you the tremendous power which this community wields, in the face of our strong administration of law and order. It is of great interest, for there is no doubt it is a very old affair; and it may have grown out of methods of harassing the conquering races, who overran their country from the northwards. Of these, which now form perhaps the greater part of the population, the Telugu-speaking Naiks seem to be the best representatives.

Before the advent of the British, the Kullens and the Maravans were largely employed as watchmen, and guardians of the roads and villages. In consideration for certain grants of land, and so on, they guaranteed safety to travellers. I have a translation of a copper-plate inscription, given by the great King Tirumal Naik (began to reign 1623) to a Kullen chief, detailing the honours he

is to receive ; how that, when he lays a certain blanket down in the villages, everyone will put so much in it ; how that shepherds will give him certain dues, the first of the flock, on certain festivals ; and even the betel-nut which his daughter chews is provided for by endowment of certain villages.

Our administration put aside these arrangements ; and the Kullens, with their Maravan brethren, take what they can and how they can. They think it their right to do so. Their hand is against all outside their own people. No one is free from blackmail, no matter how high his position, European or native. It is levied in this way : every large householder must employ a Kullen, generally as an outdoor servant, and every small householder must pay a certain sum month by month.

Those who accept this unwritten agreement are safe, practically, from theft. Those who do not will suffer heavily. A regimental guard is no protection whatever from the Kullen thief ; nor is attempt at personal defence. A gentleman tried this not long ago ; placed a revolver under his pillow, and let it be known that he would shoot anyone who entered his room. The Kullens very soon took away the revolver, and when he awoke all his furniture was out in the garden. A man who can steal the sheet from under you, no matter how secure you make yourself, is a difficult customer to deal with.

For cattle driven to market, in carts or what not, tied up in a village for the night, regular kâval or watch dues must be paid, or the animals will certainly be lost. The most beautiful production of our administration in India is the Brahmin High Court pleader. The medium suits him beautifully, and he thrives and absorbs oceans of rupees. He has glided easily through every conceivable examination in law ; but he does not evade the Kullen, who bleeds him freely. Any request refused is at once followed by loss of something from his house. It is difficult to believe, but it is nevertheless true, that in some parts of Madura a

Kullen will enter a house—of one of the best class of Sudra farmers—demand a good meal, and, having demolished it, will seek the last favours from his host's wife, and meet with no opposition. I have seen a whole village in abject fear of its Maravan watchman, whose courage and daring they *felt*.

I will just mention that the ingenious device of the notable Jonathan Wild, returning stolen property for a consideration, is in full vogue amongst the Kullens; indeed, it is the base of their success. "Tippucooloy" is its common name. Setting fire to hayricks and houses—all thatched—is a common trick of the Kullens and Maravans, whereby to enforce their demands. Some people doubt the racial antagonism in Ireland. Here is something much older, and not less strong.

The courage and energy of the Kullens and Maravans seem to mark them as excellent material for soldiers—and so they are; but their lawless, disloyal character makes it impossible to use them in this way, as a separate corps at any rate, even if they could be got to enlist. To their own chief they are wholly loyal—the Zemindar of Ramnad, the Rajah of Pudukotta, and others—but of the British Government a large number of them know absolutely nothing.

It seems somewhat anomalous that in our administration they should be amenable to Sanscrit (Aryan) Hindu law, which is as foreign to them as it would be to Maoris, though it is supposed to represent their customs (Heaven knows why!); and as to restrictions on the liberties of others, that they should be on a par with the mildest Bengali Baboos, who are about as near in kindred and character to them as are the Chinese. Hence their freedom to indulge in plunder.

M. Topinard places the Dravidian thirtieth on his list of races, according to stature. This is, I think, too low. The Kullen and Maravan should come about twentieth, or not much lower. Active, strong, and muscular; quick, eager,

and energetic of speech and gesture; skin very dark; Maravans are fairer. Ordinary dress, a small loin-cloth, and turban. Men wear a couple of ear-rings in each ear.

The Kullens of Madura are divided into East-country Kullens and West-country Kullens. Those of the west say they were separated from the others by the King Tirumal Naik, in consequence of one of their number having stolen something from the palace, of which they were the watchmen.

There are eight tribes in the east, and the same number in the west. Those of the east will not intermarry with those of the west, but they will eat together. It is curious that the South India Railway now divides them.

The tribes of the west first. The Paramalli Nādu Kullens are divided into eight tribes—perhaps tribe is not the right word. The divisions may be inter-tribal. I am unable to decide. The names not exclusively Tamil, or even Dravidian in origin, are those of the head village of each tribe, or whatever it is. It is important, because thereon depends whether their marriage is exogamous or otherwise. A man or woman of one of the eight tribes must marry into one of the others. Men marry between 15 and 25, girls over 10. Bridegroom goes with music to the bride's village, bearing material for a feast, and remains there feasting for two days. On the third day he brings the girl home quietly. The marriage token is unique. It is made of twisted or plaited hair of a bullock's tail, or it may be of horsehair. It is tied round the bride's neck by the bridegroom's *sister*. The bridegroom is bound to provide some article of food for his wedding feast which he has stolen, and this unfortunate necessity sometimes separates him from his bride, the police taking care of him instead.

A woman may leave her husband whenever she likes. The fine idea of the spiritual union of the Hindu marriage is quite foreign to the Kullens, as well as to all the earlier races of South India. So important is this, that I will

quote from the *Madura Manual* concerning the Kunuvans, who live in the same tract of country as the Kullens.

"A husband can at any time get rid of his wife by taking her to her parents, together with a pair of oxen, if he be an Eastern Kunnavan, and a vati, or round metal dish, if he be a Western. On the other hand, if the wife dislikes her partner, she may leave him on giving up her golden jewels. The silvern she retains in such case, and may, according to her pleasure, either go back to her father's house or marry another man. In the west, however, she takes with her only such property as she may have possessed at the time of her marriage. Her children must all be made over to the deserted husband; and if she be pregnant when she goes away, and a child be born whilst she is living with her second husband, it must nevertheless be given up to the first upon payment of the expense of bearing it in the east, upon mere demand in the west. In this way a woman may legally marry any number of men in succession, though she may not have two husbands at one and the same time. She may, however, bestow favours on paramours without hindrance, provided they be of equal caste with her. On the other hand, a man may indulge in polygamy to any extent he pleases, and the Western Kunnavans keep several wives and servants, particularly for agricultural purposes."

Sati never obtained here, except among the Aryan races. A Kullen woman leaving her husband must return the present (corresponding to the oli of the Wadders, and others) which he gave her when he married her; and when this has been done the *discarded husband* is treated to a feast. A second or third marriage involves little ceremony—a few family friends to be feasted, and a new marriage token to be tied. There is no compulsory widowhood, as among the Hindus; a brother-in-law, or any man she fancies, supplies the place of the deceased husband. A curious polyandrous arrangement obtains, though it is not always admitted. Mr. Nelson thus describes it in his

Manual of Madura: "Assigning a woman as wife to 10, 8, 6, or 2 husbands, who are held to be the fathers jointly and severally of any children that may be born of her body. And when such children grow up, they call themselves the children of 8 and 2, or of 6 and 2, or of 4 and 2, not of 10, or 8, or 6 fathers."

A remarkable fact concerning the West-country Kullens is that the boys are circumcised between 7 and 12. It has been said that this practice is a relic of the Mahomedan invasion 230 years ago. With this I do not agree. For what purpose did they acquire it from an alien race, for whom they felt nothing but hatred? The Mahomedan influence here was never strong. Like all the earlier races, the Kullens cling to their own beliefs and customs, and are strongly averse to any outside intervention. Even our strong, steady government affects them but little. Is it conceivable that this uncommon rite, practised by no other non-Islamic community in the country, was seized on and perpetuated by them, while remaining impervious to every other influence of the Mahomedan religion. If, as seems probable, circumcision is a mark of fealty to a god, it may be said they required no such mark, for they have one of their own. Every man's arm, over the deltoid, bears two or three scars made with a sharp stone, in boyhood, for the purpose, so they have told me, of enabling their god to recognise them when they pass behind the veil.

The East-country Kullens do not observe circumcision; nor do the Maravans; nor the Ahambadiyans. The West-country Kullens say, "We have always done it, we don't know why."

Ordinary quarrels, and cases of personal injury, are settled by a little court of the caste-folk; murders, too, are often compromised in this way, without reference to the police-courts. For wounding another, a man is made to pay a few rupees—"for treatment of the wound" which he inflicted. If the injury is so serious that the man may die, it is decided that if he dies within a certain number of

days, the man who inflicted the injuries shall pay 70 pons, or $157\frac{1}{2}$ rupees ; in the case of a woman, the fine is exactly half. But if death takes place after the period named, it is understood that the cause thereof was some other than the wounds, and there the matter ends. This kind of compromise, once the rule, is dying out.

The East-country Kullens are recognisable easily by their heavy ear-rings, which drag down the ear-lobes to as much as two inches, or even more sometimes. This kind of deformation of the ear is common in South India, but I have never seen it among men, the East-country Kullens excepted. The dragged-out, attenuated ear-lobes are often torn in anger.

The use of a kind of bomerang is peculiar to the Eastern Kullens. "Crooked stick" they call it. It does not revert to the thrower. A practised hand can cut down a plantain-tree twenty to thirty yards off with it. It is used for knocking over small game, by breaking the legs, usually. Throwing-sticks are not uncommon, but only among the Kullens do they take the shape of the bomerang. In Mysore, a corkscrew-shaped stick about the length of a walking-stick is used by the hunter-caste community. As it revolves, the ends strike the ground, the curves strike the animal, which would be untouched were the stick straight.

The Eastern Kullens have a way of hunting the wild boar which deserves mention, as it is quite unique. A wide semicircle is formed of men standing in pairs, at intervals, and the animals are driven towards them. One man holds a spear, the large head of which is set at a small angle from the line of the shaft. His comrade holds a short stabbing-spear. The driven boar, the most dangerous and fiercest animal of the Indian jungles, charges straight at the first pair he sees. The two men stand perfectly still, and the boar's neck is received on the bent spear. The boar jerks its head up, burying the spear (here the bend comes in) to the flange. The second

man drives in his stabbing-spear, and the boar is killed at their feet. Those who know what the charge of an Indian boar is, will appreciate the nerve and courage required for this form of sport. People who do this sort of thing for amusement are neither dull nor inert.

The Eastern Kullens have their songs and dances in social as well as religious festivities.

What they call dancing in Kummi is common. Now the men, now the women, perform separately, those who are out, looking on. Stepping or jumping they go round and round while singing a chorus to a verse given out by one. At each verse all stoop forward and clap hands; then round and round again. It is an uncommon form of amusement in South India, where people are rarely aroused to much activity except under religious excitement. Dancing is usually done by proxy. When these people are fully aroused by religious high pressure, as during the Aligiri Festival in Madura, their frenzy is boundless. They dance and leap for days together—it seems—yelling, and laughing, and singing, and lashing themselves with whips.

In the south of the tract where we find the Eastern Kullens, not very far from Ramnad, close to holy Ramêsbaram, one of the most sacred shrines of the Brahminical-Hindu religion, visited by crowds of pilgrims from every part of India, we meet the Konddya Kothai Maravans, who observe a very remarkable ceremony in connection with their dead. An unmarried boy or girl is buried without any ceremony immediately after death. When a married person dies, a death-message is sent to all relatives, who assemble as soon as possible, and in their presence the body is carried outside the house. After mourning and weeping, the corpse is carried on a bier prepared for the occasion, to the spot where the dead are disposed of. There is music by the way. The body is burnt. The man who lit the pyre is shaven. Next day there is the Karmantram ceremony. The relatives go to the place where

the corpse was burnt, heap up the remains of the burnt bones, and pour thereon water and oil-seeds, and break an earthen pot. They eat that night in the deceased's house. Cooked rice and incense are offered to the spirit of the deceased.

But whenever funds are wanting to perform the Karmantram ceremony as above, the strange procedure is this. No death-message is sent. The corpse is wept over, and then carried to the local "God's Acre" on an arrangement like a ladder. A grave is dug, and the corpse is placed therein. The son or heir throws in some earth, and the grave is filled up. The Karmantram ceremony may be performed any time within the lifetime of the son or heir, whenever he has sufficient money for it. A corpse without kith is never treated to this ceremony. A Monday is fixed for the postponed performance. Relatives are informed by message. They come, and are fed under a shed, much the same as is enacted for the Wadder marriage. In the evening, a bier, followed by all the relatives, is carried with music to the spot where the corpse was buried. The deceased's wife's brother digs up the corpse, removes the skull, which he washes and smears with sandal-wood powder and spices. This man, the brother-in-law of deceased, seats himself on the bier, holding the skull in his hand, and is carried back to the shed in front of deceased's house. No music. The skull is set down, and all the relatives weep and mourn over it until the next day at noon. The following twenty-four hours are given over to drunken revelry. Then the brother-in-law again sits on the bier, skull in hand, and is carried back to the grave, with music. The son or heir of deceased there burns the skull and breaks an earthen pot. The relatives go home, bathe, and feast together. This custom obtains also amongst the Pullers, who are, doubtless, amongst the earliest existing inhabitants of the country, hills or plains.

Eating and feasting in presence of the dead we find in

other communities in South India, but it is not common. This strange form of it is quite unique. Of course, we have another form of it not far from here—in Ireland—where the feasting seems to be more drinking than eating. Everyone entering the room bends over the corpse and drinks a glass of whisky to begin with.

I have said nothing of the religion of the Kullens. The Brahminical religion, the worship of Siva and Vishnu in their endless forms, incarnations and so on, is very largely influenced by the more primitive cult which underlies it throughout the Presidency. The higher seems to have had little or no effect on the lower, but the lower has had considerable influence over the higher.

As we go south we find the lower and, I believe, earlier cult becoming more distinct, and in the extreme south it is most separated. The profound influence of this lower cult, in the south, cannot be overlooked by the most casual observer. But it is not so easy to say, "it is this," or "it is that," more especially when we are estimating a people whose habit of thought is utterly different from our own.

What is commonly (in my opinion, wrongly) called Demonolatry finds its strongest expression in the southernmost district—Tinnevely, which, by-the-bye, contains more Christians than the whole of India put together. Every image of a goddess is sword in hand, and doing something bloody; eating her children, usually, or a child in one hand as if being eaten, another at her feet about to be eaten. Perhaps it is in Tinnevely that the goats have the worst time of it. During certain festivals they are sacrificed by the thousand to the deities of the lower cult.

I thank you all for your kindness in having listened to me. Whether you all believe in the power of folk-lore and the help it promises to give us concerning the earlier part of man's history, you must feel that intimacy with uncultured man is otherwise beneficial and helpful towards

better comprehension of the highly cultured, whose life seems to be more and more artificial.

But whether or not, in comparison with the average man of any highly cultured community, to a much greater and wider degree uncultured man is *himself*, and therefore worth studying.

Mr. E. PEACOCK drew attention to the following extract from Palmer's *History of Wrexham*.—P. 123.

The gentleman spoken of died in 1883, aged 59. Though an inhabitant of Wrexham for many years, his birthplace was Cefn, near St. Asaph :—

“ I have heard the following story of Mr. John Foulkes, sen., that if in his walks a magpie crossed his path, he would make with his stick the sign of a cross upon the ground, and say, ‘ Devil, I defy thee.’ ”

Miss BURNE communicated the following notes on present Fifth of November observances in the South of England :—

At Hastings I saw placards announcing the grand procession which would pass through the town on the occasion, carrying effigies (if I remember rightly), and winding up with a bonfire.

At Rye I saw similar placards, announcing the intended doings of the “ Borough Bonfire Boys”, the route to be taken by the procession, and the place determined for the bonfire, in which the effigies would be consumed, and warning all persons against giving anything towards the funds for the bonfires if not solicited by the authorised “ Bonfire Boys”.

At Folkestone I saw the procession itself, on Monday, the 6th inst. It consisted of carts or waggons (cars they were styled), decorated, and containing *tableaux vivants* contributed by the different Friendly and other Societies in the town. Thus, the Ancient Order of Druids sent a party

of Ancient Britons ; the car provided by the Rev. E. Husband's Working Boys' Club represented "Algeria", where Mr. Husband is at present staying ; the Mutual Benefit Society's car represented "Labour", as exemplified by a blacksmith at his forge shoeing a live pony. The Butchers' Trade Car (sent, I fear, by one firm only, not by the trade) conveyed a live bullock, with a man with a pole-axe standing by his head. The Fire Brigades also took part in the procession, and so did no less than four fife-and-drum bands. The whole was lighted by torches and Chinese lanterns, and followed a prescribed route through the town, stopping at intervals to collect money, which was given to the Victoria Hospital. I did not get a very good view of it, but I afterwards obtained a printed programme, which gave me the name of the secretary, Mr. C. Buzan, who is employed in a nursery garden at Folkestone, and from whom I learnt the following particulars :—

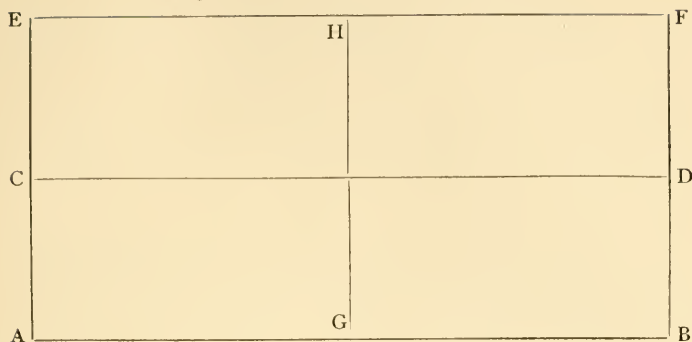
The 5th November was formerly kept in Folkestone with a great deal of rowdyism, squibbing in the streets, breaking windows, and mischief of all kinds, accompanying the usual carrying of effigies, and burning them in a bonfire on the outskirts of the town. Especially was this the case in the older streets, as High Street and Tontine Street. But I could not learn that the fishing population took any special part, or that there was any feud between them and the landmen on that occasion. Some five or six years ago an attempt was made by the Friendly Societies of the town to remedy the disorder by organising a joint procession on the lines of the celebration at Eastbourne, which should occupy the hobbledchoys by drawing them to its line of march. They retained the effigies and the bonfire, and paid their expenses and remunerated themselves by the collection made on the way. This only partially succeeded in checking disorder, and when, after November 5th, 1890 (as I understand), there was a difficulty about the accounts, this young man Buzan, and some friends, resolved

to reorganise the affair on a plan which he had seen carried out by the Temperance Societies at Ashford, of which place he is a native. They got every society of working men or boys in the town to send delegates to form a Carnival Society, as they drolly call it. Every member of this society pays one penny a week through the year, which entitles him to a ticket for their annual dinner, and leaves a margin for the expenses of the procession. They also obtain subscriptions towards the expenses from the leading men of the town, so that all the money collected on the line of march is clear profit, and is handed over to the Victoria Hospital in the town. They carry no effigies, and "strictly avoid personalities", said Mr. Buzan; neither is there any bonfire. The result is curiously like a mediæval trades procession, such as lingered within memory at Shrewsbury, and, as I believe, still exists in some Midland towns. But the present form of the custom is quite modern, though it reverts apparently to an old type. Still, the changing forms of an old custom, and the history of the circumstances and influences which have led to a change in one ascertained case, may not be without interest to members of the Folk-lore Society, though I scarcely think with Mrs. Buzan, to whom I explained the reason of my questions, that the result of my inquiries will be "a little *en-courage-ment*" to them.

[Substantially the same practices and the same modes of carrying them out obtain at Hampstead. I have, unfortunately, not kept my programme of the last fifth of November procession, but a good account, with illustrations, may be found in the *Daily Graphic* for November 6th. —A. N.]

Mrs. MURRAY-AYNSLEY sent from Kashmir a description of "Masōck", a game played by Cinghalese fisher-boys near Colombo, in Ceylon :—

Length of lines, 60 feet ; 15 feet apart.



The game *Masock*, although the Cinghalese youth is very commonly seen engaged in playing it, is not one of their national games. If the term be admissible, it is an exotic of Malay introduction, and that it is so the word *Masock* is the best proof.

When staying, in November-December 1891, at Mount Lavinia, a few miles south of Colombo, we witnessed the above game constantly played on the sands beneath our windows. It seemed to bear such a strong likeness to our "Prisoner's Base", that I was anxious to have a detailed account of its rules. I have only just succeeded in obtaining them through a friend.

The word *Masock* is a Malay term ; it means, "enter if you can." The game can be played with an even number of players, half on each side, there being as many lines as there are players, who always pair.

The first step taken is to select two captains, one on each side. It is no mean honour to be captain of a side ; it is a very anxious position, and only those who are very active and agile are selected for the post. The two captains take up their position at a certain spot. The players having paired, and having each assumed a name such as his fancy may suggest, they repair to the captains, and pronounce these words : "Ootchie, Ootchie." Then the captains, or one of them, says : "Mōal." One of the

pairs of players then asks the captains: "Which do you want? Pumpkin or Sugar-cane?" those being the names which this pair have given themselves. One of the captains asks for the one he wishes; should he say Pumpkin, then the player who has agreed to take that name becomes a player on his side. All are selected in this manner.

The game consists in crossing the lines (A B, C D, E F, H G, guarded by players of one side) to the other side from which the player started, without being touched by any of the guards. When a player is re-crossing, he is supposed to bring salt. One of the captains takes the foremost line, A B, and cries out, "Masock!"—"enter if you can." It is the signal to try to enter. At this, everyone of those whose business it is to cross the lines tries to do so. Great care should be taken not to get within reach of the guards, for if one of those trying to cross gets within reach of a guard, and the guard touches any part of his body, the crossers will all be out, and be compelled to act as guards. The captain of the guards has the privilege of running along the line A B, as well as on G H. This is always so, but at times he may get the privilege of running round the whole oblong (this depends on special agreement), and if he touches any one of the guards while he is the captain of one of those lines the guards are out. Care should be taken not to get too near the guards. The business of each crosser being to cross the lines, he begins to run from one end of the line to the other, keeping beyond the reach of the guard, and makes gyration after gyration until he sees enough space to jump to the other side. Generally those who can run fastest are victorious.

A game very similar, nay, almost the same, is that called "Mattoo". It has the same rules and principles, with this difference: that in Mattoo you can get as near as possible to a guard, but he cannot by touching put you out; he can only do so while you are in the act of crossing the line.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 17th, 1894.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. G. Laurence Gomme, F.S.A.), in the chair.

THE minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Dr. Gaster, it was resolved that the Annual Report (printed *infra*) be received and adopted.

On the motion of Mr. Nutt, seconded by Mr. Jacobs, it was resolved that the Balance-Sheet appended to the Report be also adopted.

The President, Vice-President, Members of Council, and Officers of the Society for the ensuing year, were duly elected.

The President delivered his Annual Address (*infra*, pp. 43-69), and a short discussion ensued, in which Dr. Gaster and Mr. Nutt took part.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

"There is nothing new under the sun." The Council has not even recommended for your selection a new President, and as it thus falls to my lot to once more address you from this chair, I must perforce discuss some old problems, perhaps with an iteration which you may not quite appreciate, but, at all events, with a purpose that is all-important to our science.

It is one of the fundamental laws of that science that man, until he has reached the academic stage of culture, never invents a new thing: new things develop gradually from old things, but new things are not created by man—not new arts, new customs, new legends, new beliefs, nor new fairy tales. As an old Bechuana chief said to a French

missionary, "One event is always the son of another, and we must never forget the parentage."

I, myself, do not believe that even the imaginative faculty of the human brain is capable of absolutely "inventing" anything. It may alter the conception of things already in existence, add together incongruous elements, and produce results which are marvellous or supernatural, according to the frame of mind in which we look at them. It may produce many incongruous equations—such, for instance, as human body + bird's wings = angels; it may create a hell out of its own gloomy and dismal fears, and a heaven out of the delights of life. But it is one of the satisfactions of scientific inquiry into human thought that the mind is not capable of absolutely freeing itself from the region of fact. It reaches back into the past by the effort of memory, tradition, and record; it reaches forward into the future by the sublime function of hope. But as what it sees in the past cannot be its own creation, independent of fact, so what it foresees in the future cannot be independent of fact; that is, the function of hope being granted, it must take its rise from some fact with which it is correlated—a fact of which we may know little or next to nothing, but which does not cease to be a fact because of our ignorance. Always, therefore, as it seems to me, there is a reality at the bottom of all fancy and all tradition. It is difficult always to find this reality. For instance, there is the story of "A man who once had a melon, and as he was cutting it, he let his knife fall into it, whereupon he took his garden ladder and went down into the melon to look for his knife. And in the melon he met a man, who asked him what he was seeking. 'What!' said he, 'are you only looking for a knife? Why, I have lost sixteen spoons in this horrid place, and have been trying high and low to find them for a month past!'" (Ossete Tale, Haxthausen, *Transcaucasia*, 421). What fact this can have come from I confess I am not prepared to suggest; all I say is that it is not the result of an

invention of facts outside all human experience. It is a transposition of one set of facts to another locale ; or a general mix-up of several sets of originally independent facts ; or simply an exaggerated way of saying that melons grow very large in Eastern Europe ; but it is not invention.

I do not think that the reference from myth to fact is quite acknowledged as a doctrine of the science of folk-lore. It is too often the practice to characterise a particular belief as "mere superstition", a particular action as "mere custom", a particular tradition as a mere fragment of literature borrowed somehow from somewhere at some time or other ; and then to think that the whole inquiry about the superstition, custom, or tradition is settled once for all. Our late distinguished President is, I hold, a sinner in this respect. In his last address from this chair he criticised a study of mine on Totemism in Britain, upon the basis that particular items of belief, which I classified as totemistic, were, after all, only popular superstitions. But I went behind this stage. I inquired as to the origin of the superstitions, and because they classified under a plan which was drawn up from the facts of savage totemism, I drew conclusions from the similarity of classification as to the similarity of origin, and my subsequent studies on the same subject have not altered my opinion.

Well, then, if every fragment of belief, custom, or tradition that is not academic in origin has an origin in man's observation of fact, we have before us the doctrine that the primitive thought of man does not change radically, but slowly develops from one stage to another. And it is this doctrine that alone justifies the comparison of beliefs and customs in widely separated areas. In any given society, all that is in the process of development is culture ; all that has ceased to develop, and remains crystallized, is folk-lore. We may compare, therefore, the culture of one people with the folk-lore of another, because both are upon the same level of development ; or we may com-

pare the different elements of folk-lore or of culture together.

Thus there are two elements in the comparative study of custom and belief—namely, the comparison of like elements in two distinct areas, and the comparison of unlike elements in the same area. The first of these two elements of comparison has been studied very thoroughly, and to some purpose, by the most distinguished philosophers, anthropologists, and folk-lorists, and we are beginning to see some results. The second of these two elements has scarcely been studied at all. In my little book on *Ethnology in Folk-lore*, I touched the fringe of this subject, and for a long time I flattered myself that I was the first student who had noted the importance of unlike classes of belief existing side by side. But I must now confess that I fall a victim to the inexorable dictum of the Hebrew king, which forms the opening words of this address. So long ago as 1886, the phenomenon of unlike classes of belief was noted in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. I did not know of this when I wrote my book, and, in fact, it has remained a dead-letter in folk-lore studies until now. But the words of Professor Duns add a weight to the idea, that anything I have said cannot pretend to give, and I therefore gladly record them as a contribution to our study of first principles. Hitherto, he says, the argument in favour of the doctrine of the unity of the human race has had chiefly in view the existence of similar habits and observances in nations widely different and remote. But the same argument, from the diversities of customs, domestic, social, or superstitious, among families closely connected, both as tribes and geographically, yet remains to be worked out.

How important these words are, let me illustrate by the force of contrast. It is, of course, well known to us all here that parallel customs of a remarkable nature do occur in places very distant from each other. In my collection of parallels to British custom, I know none quite so close

as the Kourdish practice of bread-making as it occurs at Sinjate. "One woman makes the dough into balls, the size of her fist: this she beats with her hand into flat cakes, about a quarter of an inch thick and ten inches across. This she hands to the chief bakeress, who presides over the *tanure* [or oven], and who, by some mysterious legerdemain, merely by throwing the cake from hand to hand, expands it to a thin oval sheet, the thickness of paper; this she deposits on a very dirty pillow, one end of which is open to let in her hand, and thus poised, she dashes it against the heated side of the *tanure*, and, when baked to her satisfaction, she removes it with two sticks" (*British Assoc. Report*, 1889, p. 184). The British parallel to this belongs to a subject which my wife has taken up, and which my friend, Professor Haddon—rather irreverently, as I think, but still expressively—styled folk-grub:—

"An ancient custom, for the observance of which Rutherglen has long been famous, is the baking of sour cakes. Some peculiar circumstances attending the operation render an account of the manner in which it is done not altogether unnecessary. About eight or ten days before St. Luke's Fair (for they are baked at no other time of the year), a certain quantity of oatmeal is made into dough, with warm water, and laid up in a vessel to ferment. Being brought to a proper degree of fermentation and consistency, it is rolled up into balls, proportionable to the intended largeness of the cakes. With the dough is commonly mixed a small quantity of sugar, and a little aniseed or cinnamon. The baking is executed by women only, and they seldom begin their work till after sunset, and a night or two before the Fair. A large space of the house, chosen for the purpose, is marked out by a line drawn upon it. The area within is considered as consecrated ground, and is not, by any of the bystanders, to be touched with impunity. A transgression incurs a small fine, which is always laid out on drinks for the use of the company. This hallowed spot is occupied by six or eight women, all of whom, except the toaster, seat themselves on the ground in a circular figure, having their feet turned towards the fire. Each of them is provided with a bake-board about two feet square, which they hold on their knees. The

woman who toasts the cakes, which is done on a girdle suspended over the fire, is called the queen or bride, and the rest are called her maidens. These are distinguished from one another by names given them for the occasion. She who sits next the fire towards the east is called the Todler ; her companion on the left hand is called the Hodler, and the rest have arbitrary names given them by the bride—as Mrs. Baker, best and worst maids, etc. The operation is begun by the Todler, who takes a ball of the dough, forms it into a small cake, and then casts it on the bake-board of the Hodler, who beats it out a little thinner. This being done, she in her turn throws it on the board of her neighbour, and thus it goes round from east to west in the direction of the course of the sun, until it comes to the toaster, by which time it is as thin and smooth as a sheet of paper. The first cake that is cast on the girdle is usually named as a gift to some well-known cuckold, from a superstitious opinion that thereby the rest will be preserved from mischance. Sometimes the cake is so thin as to be carried by the current of air up into the chimney. As the baking is wholly performed by the hand a great deal of noise is the consequence. The beats, however, are not irregular, nor destitute of an agreeable harmony, especially when they are accompanied with vocal music, which is frequently the case. Great dexterity is necessary, not only to beat out the cakes with no other instrument than the hand, so that no part of them shall be thicker than another, but especially to cast them from one board on another without ruffling or breaking them. The toasting requires considerable skill, for which reason the most experienced person in the company is chosen for that part of the work. One cake is sent round in quick succession to another, so that none of the company is suffered to be idle. The whole is a scene of activity, mirth, and diversion, and might afford an excellent subject for a picture. As there is no account, even by tradition itself, concerning the origin of this custom, it must be very ancient. The bread thus baked was, doubtless, never intended for common use. It is not easy to conceive why mankind, especially in a rude age, would strictly observe so many ceremonies, and be at so great pains in making a cake which, when folded together, makes but a scanty mouthful. Besides, it is always given away in presents to strangers who frequent the Fair. The custom seems to have been

originally derived from paganism, and to contain not a few of the sacred rites peculiar to that impure religion—as the leavened dough, and the mixing it with sugar and spices, the consecrated ground, etc., etc. But the particular deity for whose honour these cakes were at first made is not, perhaps, easy to determine.”

Apart from the very significant details of this Scottish practice, which I cannot now discuss, here is a parallel in custom which we all recognise as among those things worth studying. But is it more worth studying than its converse? Is it more remarkable that the barbarous unculture of the Kourds should have produced the self-same practice as the peasant unculture of the British, than that the peasant unculture should have produced two entirely different customs or beliefs about the same central subject? And yet this is what has happened. Take, for example, the cult of the dead. Among the superstitions of our own country there are two distinct groups, one pointing to a reverence and love of the dead, the other to a detestation and fear of the dead. Both are survivals, but the question is, Are they survivals of the same original?

In both these classes of comparative folk-lore—that which takes us to close parallels in widely separated areas, and that which takes us to divergencies in the same or closely contiguous areas—we fully recognise that we are in the presence of uncivilisation. In the Western world, at all events, this carries with it one other conclusion, namely, that the uncivilisation belongs not to the products of our own age, but to those of an age which we must be content to call prehistoric—prehistoric, that is, because nothing in history accounts for one tithe of the customs and beliefs of the people. And the question remains to be solved, What is the age thus indicated as prehistoric? Who are the people or peoples whom we can satisfactorily say were prehistoric, but to whom at present we dare not give a name? If we call them Aryans, we are told there were no such people, that Aryan is a language-term only, and

indicates that one language has conquered other languages, and that the people who differentiated this all-powerful speech perhaps lived somewhere in Asia, but most probably in northern Europe, and, at all events, do not live now. If we say they were non-Aryans, then we are intruding into realms that belong to the people who measure skulls, and who believe that skulls when measured will tell us everything. If we say simply that they differ in the original race ancestry from the modern population, we are told that folk-lore cannot settle such important problems, but that it must confine itself to the eternal work of comparison, and never step aside to sum up results.

Now all this is very unsatisfactory, and it leads me to a very important subject, upon which I consider that our Society, as the prime mover in the most important step which has been taken for years with reference to the prehistoric races of this country, is much to be congratulated. It was at our instance that the Society of Antiquaries and the Anthropological Institute were invited to co-operate with us in bringing about an ethnological survey of Britain. It was at a meeting held in our rooms, under my presidency, that the good work was begun. It was a member of our Council, Mr. E. W. Brabrook, who brought the matter before the British Association, gained the adherence of that body, and afterwards acted, first as Secretary, and now as Chairman, of the Committee which has the conduct of the work. All this indicates the activity and the practical usefulness attained by our science under the guidance of the Society in the past few years, during which we have lifted the veil a little and seen, amidst much confusion of ideas, much unclassified material, many blank spaces in the accumulation, howsoever large they may be—seen that all this chaos has a bearing, and an important one, upon our own race history, if we will but tackle the investigation.

If, therefore, I proceed to ask a few questions, and to put together a few thoughts on the relation of folk-lore to anthropology, I hope it will not be considered too much of

a personal matter of my own, but a matter that the Society has now put its hand to.

Of course there are difficulties ; but in a subject of this kind who can imagine that there would not be—indeed, who would wish there should not be—for if all were clear sailing where would be the merit of our own research and work ? But I am yet to understand that our difficulties are any greater than our fellow-workers' in other studies. Anthropology has chosen to look askance—I will not say jealously—at us, and the Society organised for its advancement has during the last year, as you have heard from the Annual Report, neglected an opportunity which may never occur again for distinctly advancing the cause of scientific research by amalgamating its forces with our own in the grand cause of the science of man. Well, I do not think anthropologists are at all aware of cases where important stages in their published researches are laid open to serious comment because of the neglect shown to the minuter results of folk-lore research, and it may be well to point out an example or two of this.

Let me first, then, draw attention to one of the fundamental stages of social evolution—the tribal organisation. The tribe has a relationship, first, to a body of people living in close contiguity, and sometimes in actual economical and religious contact with it ; and, secondly, to the social organisation of the village community. Both these relationships are vital to the proper determination of the evolution of the tribe itself, and yet nowhere have anthropologists fully discussed them, but, on the contrary, have assumed certain ill-ascertained conditions and have then argued therefrom.

What relationship does the tribe really bear to the non-tribal people which so frequently surround it ?

“When one passes”, says Sir Alfred Lyall, “from those parts of India which have long been under great centralising governments down into the midland countries which have never been fairly conquered by Moghals,

Marathas, or Englishmen, the transition is probably very much the same as the change would have been from a well-ordered province of Imperial Rome into lands still under the occupation and dominion of powerful barbarian tribes.”¹ Noting that we have here a very near description of the condition of what we might call “outer Britain” in its relation to Rome, it will be well to pursue Sir Alfred Lyall’s observations on this state of things. “The tribal period”, he says, “has here survived, and has preserved some of its very earliest social characteristics . . . for a parallel in the history of Western Europe [the observer] must go back as far as the Merovingian period, when chiefs of barbaric tribes or lands were converting themselves into kings or counts, or perhaps he should carry his retrospect much further, and conceive himself to be looking at some country of Asia Minor, lying within the influence of Rome at its zenith, but just outside its jurisdiction. He gradually discerns the population of Central India to be distributed into various and manifold denominations of tribes, clans, septs, castes and out-castes, religious orders, and devotional brotherhoods. And the peculiarity is that these distinctions are still maintained as the first and most important facts which unite and isolate the people. We have here a good opportunity of investigating what is obviously the survival of a very rudimentary stage of society, which has existed more or less throughout the world, and which may possibly be turned to account for illustrations of the obscurest and most remote parts of the history of nations.” Taking, as an example, the petty Rajpút chiefs who live down in the Far Western States, Sir Alfred Lyall proceeds to point out his descent from an eponymous ancestor, as if he were a Dorian Herakleid, and then adds to his native picture from tribal India the following significant parallel: “Here, in the head of the main stock of a pure-blooded clan, we have the primæval aristocratic family, representing, perhaps, the earliest ancestors of long-haired Merovingian kings;

¹ *Asiatic Studies*, p. 151.

or even the remote forefathers of Highland chiefs now become Scottish dukes, of ancient Armorican nobles in Brittany, and Spanish grandees with Gothic blood in their veins; the founders of that peculiar institution, the noblesse of blood, inheriting rank and formal privileges by a title as good as their sovereign's hereditary right to reign."¹ But the parallel does not end here, as we shall presently see. This aristocracy is of too pure a kinship to be otherwise than at the top of the social system, and we can make out roughly from the other tribal phenomena of India "a graduated social scale starting from the simple aboriginal horde at the bottom and culminating with the pure Aryan clan at the top; nor would it be difficult to show that all these classes are really connected, and have something of a common origin."

I have been careful to dwell upon these conclusions of Sir Alfred Lyall because, more nearly than anything else, they represent what I think can be shown to be much the state of things which must have gone on in early Britain. Sir Alfred Lyall sees in India: (1) The aboriginal horde; (2) The broken clans receiving all the outcasts or useless spirits from the progressing tribes; (3) The pure clans, relieved of all who did not work-in with the theory of blood-kinship. In Britain, the conflicts of race have brought about results not yet clearly seen by the historian; but with this parallel before us, it may be possible to pick out of surviving archaic custom such items as will compose a very clearly-defined mosaic which might nearly represent the picture of British history. Again, in Southern India there exist some castes, the peculiar characteristics of which illustrate strongly the tendency of race-distinctions to create new forms of social phenomena. One of these castes occupies a small fort enclosed by a wall about 150 yards square and ten feet high, containing the houses of about thirty families, who have absolutely no contact with the families of the tribe outside the fort. They live in

¹ *Asiatic Studies*, p. 154.

seclusion and proud isolation, and have thereby generated a code of social law quite different from their surrounding neighbours. It is difficult, says Mr. Boyle, in describing these singular castes, to form any other theory of the foundation of such a colony than that the proud patriarch of an illustrious family, which from high position and influence had fallen on evil days and had been exiled from its ancestral home, must have established himself and his kinsmen in a new settlement and shut them in by these restrictions and these ramparts from contact with the outer world.¹

The distinction which the tribal organisation seems to give to different race-elements in a population living together in one country, is indicated by these facts very clearly.

I have, however, made these quotations and references for another purpose than that of suggesting the analogy between the facts of the Aryan tribal settlement in India and the Aryan tribal settlements in Britain. Institutions, as I have before pointed out, are so intimately connected with beliefs and ritual that the true interpretation of the latter very often depends upon the true understanding of the former. Indeed, it may be put somewhat stronger than this, if we accept the testimony of Lumholtz, a very careful inquirer, who lived among the Australian aborigines. He says the superstitious fear of witchcraft causes and maintains hatred between the tribes, and is the chief reason why the Australian blacks continue to live in small communities, and are unable to rise to a higher plane of social development.²

If we note the results of tribal society in India, pointed out by Sir Alfred Lyall, we are struck by the fact that little, if any, attention has been drawn to the broken clans or outcasts in reference to the evolution of human society and religious beliefs. I myself have to some

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, iii, 288.

² Lumholtz, *Among Cannibals*, p. 280.

small extent drawn attention to their possible influence in keeping alive older phases of savage beliefs and customs amidst the growing influences of a higher faith—of Indian fetish worship by the side of Buddhism, of European superstitions of a cruel and revolting kind by the side of Christianity. But I confess I had no testimony, though testimony lay ready to my hand. For instance, in Greenland, members of the community who have fallen out with their fellows become outcasts (*kivitut*, sing. *kivítot*) and flee to the mountains or into the interior. "There is great resemblance between these *kivitut* and the outliers so common in Icelandic popular legends. The great part which these outliers play in the popular fantasy, and the mystic fear with which they are regarded, has caused them from a very early period to be in great measure confounded in common belief with trolls, *huldrer-folk*, and other legendary creatures in whose supernatural faculties they partake. Like the *kivítot*, they seek the abodes of men in order to pick up something to eat; they steal sheep, food, and clothes from the people of the settlements. The most characteristic feature of both the Greenland and the Iceland legends is that men by being cut off from society obtain supernatural power. The coincidence becomes still more striking when we observe that both in Greenland and in Iceland these legends form an essential part of living popular tradition and belief."¹ If this be compared with what is recorded of the condition of things in Guernsey not long since, its significance can hardly be missed. There was a small hamlet exclusively inhabited by the descendants of a family which from time immemorial has been kept entirely distinct from the surrounding peasantry, and was regarded by them as a race of hereditary witches and wizards, and supposed to have been the first settlers in the island.

This is an important point, and one of great use both to folk-lorists and anthropologists, but the latter will not be

¹ Nansen, *Esquimaux Life*, p. 170.

able to sift the evidence it supplies without our aid, and I much doubt if they would have noted the significance of the part played by broken men at all if it had not been pointed out by folk-lorists.

Let me turn next to the relationship between the tribe and the village community.

Before the village community came under scientific observation, the chief factor in human organisation, as it appeared to the student, was the tribe; now that attention has centred upon the village community, the tribe has been lost sight of, and the family has taken its place.

Sir Henry Maine has stated the case for both sides of the question with his usual vigour, his bias being in favour of the theory of the growth of tribes from families, and he claims both Plato and Aristotle among ancient writers, and Darwin among later writers, as advocates of this theory. Personally I do not agree with Sir Henry Maine's interpretation of the evidence afforded by these great authorities. I only state the fact now to remind the meeting of Sir Henry Maine's view. He writes in opposition to McLennan and Morgan, who held the reverse view, namely, that the tribal organisation preceded the family, and also the village community. Recently, my own researches have compelled me to argue on the side of McLennan and Morgan.

The interest of this subject to the folk-lorist is of twofold importance: (1) As an element in the early history of institutions; (2) As an element in the early history of belief and ritual.

In this latter part of the subject some facts have recently appeared which are worth attention. In such a carefully written book as Col. Ellis's *Ewe-Speaking People* (p. xiv), we have the following passage: "It will hardly be disputed that as the village community is necessarily antecedent to the tribe, the village god must be an earlier conception than the tribe god." The premiss in this argument is one that, as I have briefly shown, is by no means generally

admitted. The conclusion, therefore, by Col. Ellis cannot rest on this. But the conclusion itself is disputed by Professor Robertson Smith's well-known theory of the origin of religion in the tribe, and its gradual localisation.

I think I can see that a part of the difference between Col. Ellis and those who have argued for opposite views is perhaps due to a want of harmony in matters of terminology, so fruitful a source of error in our science ; but it is clear that this does not account for all the difference. On p. 209, Col. Ellis, in discussing the law of debt, says it "seems to show that the community preceded the family, which one would certainly expect to be the case, when it is remembered that men must have dwelt together in groups long before any such notion as that of kinship had been formed." And in pages previous to this passage Col. Ellis has discussed the beliefs and examined the customs and ritual of the Ewe-speaking people, on the fundamental principle that the oldest cult consists of the worship of local deities, that these disappear, the tribes changing from place to place, and the local deities gradually developing into a tribal worship, and ceasing as local worship. Col. Ellis's theory seems well supported by his evidence, and I should hesitate to oppose it by the result of any researches of my own. But it is diametrically opposite to the central theory of Professor Robertson Smith's researches into Semitic belief, and the importance of the question to folk-lorists is of great magnitude. Local cults seem to me to be a very large element in folk-lore. If their decay commences in primitive times, as the result of their development into primitive tribal belief, how is it that we have them surviving in the latest times as an important element in folk-lore? If it is right to compare the folk-lore of modern civilisation with the beliefs and customs of savages—and, of course, our Society especially has strenuously advanced this right—we must be quite sure of the grounds of our comparison. If Col. Ellis's theory is correct, the local cults in folk-lore

are being compared with the local cults of savages, which become obliterated before the savage state of society has ceased to exist, and therefore must have been obliterated long before civilisation could have dawned upon the pre-historic savages of Europe.

The questions, then, which folk-lorists have to ask Col. Ellis are: (1) Is his theory so absolutely true of the Slave Coast savages of Africa as to admit of no modification by the light of folk-lore research? (2) If his theory cannot be disturbed, does it apply to these African savages specially, and must not be taken to be of general import?

These questions, it will be seen, indicate a proposition which I feel sure this Society will think necessary to put forward, namely, that investigators into savage custom and belief, when they are discussing origins and development, should take into consideration the problems suggested by the science of folk-lore.

Another fruitful source of error in those anthropologists who do not take count of the detailed methods and ascertained results of folk-lore is the idea that the hunting and pastoral stage of life is necessarily earlier in development than and generally precedes the agricultural. This idea has become so prevalent that it is stated as the basis of important arguments by scholars of the first importance. But it is not in accord with the evidence of folk-lore. I do not follow quite closely the extremely interesting study which Mr. Grant Allen has given us in his discourse on the *Attis* of Catullus; but, at all events, I recognise that he has gone a long way to prove the primitive origin of agriculture. And for this proof he has appealed only to folk-lore. I note this as a triumph for our study, and one which we should be careful to register, because it touches upon one of the most important stages in the social history of man.

Now Mr. Grant Allen suggests, if I follow him rightly, that cultivation began through the offerings of fruits and seeds at the graves or barrows of departed ancestors. This, of course, presupposes a previous state of things when

fruits and seeds were the ordinary food of the people. There is evidence of this from the rudest types of man.

Immediately in the neighbourhood of the Turees are a savage set of beings termed Nahals, who exist perfectly wild among the mountains, subsisting chiefly on roots, fruits, and berries ; marriage contracts, as well as all other religious ceremonies, are entirely dispensed with, and the assorted pair are free to live together whilst they choose, or separate at pleasure and convenience ; the infant accompanies its mother to her next abode, but the grown-up children remain with the father. The Nahals are dark and diminutive in stature, and their features are exceedingly ill-favoured. A few of this tribe cultivate a little grain among the ashes of the burnt boughs of the forest.¹

Wild rice, or *Folle avoine* of the voyagers and traders, grows abundantly in the district between Lakes Superior and Winnipeg. In favourable seasons it affords sustenance to a populous tribe of Indians. In harvest-time the natives row their canoes among the grass, and bending its ears over the gunwale, thresh out the grain, which separates readily.²

The Australian aborigines derived their subsistence from the spontaneous produce of the country. The soil was not cultivated, but a kind of grain was collected and prepared for food by pounding with stones.³

I will not multiply evidence, but I draw attention to the fact that this evidence of the means of subsistence of man being derived from agricultural produce comes from the most backward races of the world. So that, from this stage up to the stage when ancestor-worship, and therefore tribal society, had become fully developed, we have the suggestion of a continued succession of agricultural people without the intervention of a hunting or pastoral stage.

¹ Graham, *Historical Sketch of the Bheel Tribes inhabiting the Province of Khandesh*, p. 3.

² Richardson, *Arctic Expedition*, i, 68-9.

³ Earl, *Native Races*, p. 214.

I am not quite sure whether the evidence is yet complete enough to write "proven" against it ; but I am sure that it is sufficient to disturb the equanimity of those who, on the strength of the *theory* that the agricultural stage of society is necessarily an advance upon the hunting and pastoral stage, draw important conclusions as to the relative barbarism or culture of people who are found in either of these conditions of life. I leave this part of my subject in the hands of the Ethnological Committee, and I shall be greatly surprised if, before its work is done, we do not discover that folk-lore has yet some revelations to make not dreamt of by those who shrink from admitting that there can be any science in the testimony of tradition.

But I do not leave the ethnographical evidence of folk-lore, for I think in the county collections we have the beginning of most excellent material. Thanks to Mr. Hartland, Lady Camilla Gurdon, and Mr. Clodd, we have now two county collections. They are probably not complete ; but, as they stand, they afford a very valuable study in comparative folk-lore. It happens that neither Gloucestershire nor Suffolk has received the attention of a special collector of its folk-lore, and we therefore approach these collections almost in the nature of monographs. The two counties are sufficiently distinct, geographically and philologically, to hope for some results, and I have taken the trouble to draw up some points of comparison, from which I will give one important result.

It is that Suffolk appears to have retained the myth-making stage of thought very strongly, while there is no trace of this in Gloucestershire. Thus the peasant at Martlesham in Suffolk, who believed the pudding-stone conglomerate to be the mother of the pebbles, was either a poet or a myth-maker ; and I argue for the latter assumption because of his companions, who believed that land produced the stones ; that the primroses left Cockfield village because they caught the plague and died ; that the Virgin Mary thistle once supplied the place of a cup when

the Virgin drank some milk ; and the other agricultural myths collected in the Suffolk volume. To make this comparison good special inquiry must be made in Gloucestershire, and I need scarcely point out how significant such a differentiation in county folk-lore will prove for the prosecution of our inquiries.

Another branch of folk-lore research treats of the relationship of primitive custom and belief to the higher religions of Asia and Europe. That Buddhism, Mahomedanism, and Christianity, have each incorporated into their ritual—ay, and into their beliefs—something from the older aboriginal or native ritual and beliefs of the people whom they have converted, is, of course, generally admitted. The difficulty is to trace out how much is incorporated. In India the quest is not difficult, the scarcely veiled lower cults being readily detected by the practised inquirer. In the Western world the quest is not so easy—indeed, is not easy at all—unless, indeed, we except the remarkable evidence vouched for by Mr. Leland from Italy. We may, by going into the later conquests of Christianity, find out how it has fared when combating the beliefs of modern savages, and work back by analogy to the facts presented in European countries. There we should find some startling facts. For instance, every year in September, at Loja in South America, there is a great fair. As a prologue to it there is a religious procession in honour of a female saint, specially created for the occasion. On the 22nd August, “Our Lady” enters the town, when there is great excitement. The streets are strewed with flowers, and a body of Indians, headed by the Alcalde, precede the party. Many of them wear alligator-heads as masks, and all perform hideous grimaces to their own music. This is a part of the old superstitions which the politic Spaniards, in order to reconcile the natives, have allowed to be mixed up with the rites of the Roman Catholic religion.¹

¹ Seeman's *Voyage of H.M.S. "Herald"*, i, 180 ; cf. pp. 198, 306.

Again, at Mazatlan in Mexico, the funeral of a child is very revolting. The corpse of the child, dressed in great state, is placed erect on a board, by means of a pole, and, thus standing, is carried on men's shoulders through the streets, giving at every step a nod with his head, which is most disgusting to behold. A band of musicians leads the train; then follow the priest, the mourners, and several men, who throw up rockets and crackers. In some parts of Mexico deceased children are actually attired as angels, with a pair of goose or pelican wings, suspended by a rope between two trees, and thus swung in the air, while the friends and relations dance around it like a herd of savages.¹ But this realism in angelic representation is not one whit more gross, in my humble opinion, than that represented in the beautiful paintings of the President of the Royal Academy, who is content to imagine that birds' wings growing out of human shoulder-blades is the best representation of the angelic that art can give us.²

I will finally refer to one other curious piece of evidence under this head. In the Caucasus, among the Armenian Christians, in case of necessity—for instance, if a person is at the point of death and there is no human being near—confession may be made to a tree or stone, and in place of the consecrated elements the dying man may take earth into his mouth.³ Stone worship is a cult of surprising vigour

¹ Seeman, *Voyage of H.M.S. "Herald"*, ii, 151-52.

² Popular ideas about angels are well worth noting. The poorer classes, some years ago, considered "that they are children, or children's heads and shoulders, winged. It is notorious and scriptural they think that the body dies, but nothing being said about the head and shoulders, they have a sort of belief that they are preserved to angels, which are no other than dead young children. A medical man told me that he was called upon to visit a woman who had been confined, and all whose children had died. As he reached the door a neighbour came out, saying, 'O she's a blessed 'oman, a blessed 'oman.' 'What do you mean?' said he. 'She's a blessed 'oman, for she breeds angels for the Lord.'"—*Essays* by the Rev. J. Eagles.

³ Haxthausen, *Transcaucasia*, 317.

even in our own land, and if any such aid as this was ever given to it in Western Christendom generally, there is no longer any surprise to be felt at its long continuance.

The discussion on the particular problems of folk-lore which is presented by folk-tales has not been allowed to drop back during the last session, and Mr. Nutt's powerful and singularly lucid defence of the anthropological interpretation is a performance of which any society might be proud. I confess the folk-tale loses much of its old charm now that it has become the sport of literature. Maimed, altered, and distorted in one direction ; clothed in red, blue, and green in another direction—of course, those who cannot see that these are not the doings of folk-lore will never give the folk-tale all the credit it really deserves as an element of the anthropology of civilised races. They will always remember its literary rough handling, and they will rather scorn its traditional faithfulness. So that personally I am not at all sorry that some attention is now being given to real hero-tales for the purpose of the literary amusement of our children. Folk-tales, when they are reduced to the level of literature, will never really teach children literature, nor morals, nor manners ; because all their charm is in the unconscious—the *unconscious*—beauty and poetry of their incidents and characters. Let the real hero-tale of history then be brought to do its duty in the nursery, and in the meantime let us note how it was in the years gone by the original of the traditional tale itself.

The following is in outline the story of a real Kaffir heroine : A father who had been unfortunate, and had lost all his wealth, was importuned to give up his two daughters for wives to the master who had befriended him in his necessities. He had no power, even if he had the will, to resist the demand ; so in due time the daughters were sent to their intended lord's kraal. They would not go into the hut, until at last they were forcibly carried in. It was night, and one of the girls, worn out with fatigue and

weeping, had fallen asleep. But if she slept, her sister was awake, and determined to be free. Her eyes turned towards a distant land, for among those of her tribe who had taken refuge there was a certain young man with whom she had been acquainted from childhood, and who had obtained possession of her heart before that evil day which compelled him to run for his life. When she thought the fit moment had come, Uzinto released herself from her bonds, and taking up her mat, crept out of the hut. She determined to make away over or through the fence, and this being done, she ran across the dewy grass and began her journey. Soon after daylight she met a party of men who asked where she was going. She replied without hesitation that she was going to see a relative amongst the Amakoba; but there were marks of tears upon her face, and her questioners insisted to know why she had been weeping. It was easy to say that she had been taking snuff, but they were not satisfied with this explanation, and expressed their conviction that she was a fugitive on the forbidden land. Her denial of this assertion being vehement and vigorous, she was allowed to proceed. When Uzinto reached the country of the Amakoba the sun was setting, and she had no choice but to enter a kraal and solicit permission to remain the night. The events of the last few days were known here, and the people easily divined that she was absconding. They told her plainly that they should send a messenger to her husband in the morning, and detain her until the answer had been received. She was too well secured to escape during the night, and next morning, after the messenger had been sent, she was committed to the custody of the women of the kraal. These had their own business to attend to, and contented themselves with leaving her bound in the hut. After a time she severed her bonds, and again set forth. Before she had gone far, however, a boy in charge of the cattle saw her, and immediately ran to inform the women. These, who were at work in the garden, threw down their

picks and commenced a hot pursuit. They had not much difficulty in catching the fugitive, but she wept, begged them to kill her, and behaved so extraordinarily that the women allowed her to escape. She now determined to avoid the kraals, and travel as much as possible in the bush. A terrible fright caused by a leopard was the only incident she met with, and at the end of the fourth day she forded the river Tugela, very tired and very hungry. Uzinto now went to a kraal to obtain food, and to discover where her people lived. The owner saw that she was a fugitive, and thought it a fine opportunity to gain a wife without expense. She declined to become an inmate of his house, and abode with one of his wives for the night. The jealous wife communicated to her the information she wanted, and told her that the man wished to deceive her. When Uzinto departed in the morning the master of the kraal met her, and again endeavoured to persuade her to return. He was rich; she should have plenty of milk and plenty of beef; she had only to become his wife to be happy and honoured. She listened in silence, and went on her way to her own people, where she was received by the chief as one of his wards. Then began her search for her lover. His brother's kraal adjoined her new home, and one morning, meeting her lover's favourite nephew, affecting not to know him, she said that his face was not altogether strange to her, and wondered where she had seen him. The boy did not think he had seen her anywhere, and when she suggested the Folosi river, he told her he had never been there. The truth was, the shrewd urchin knew her, and wanted to make her more explicit, and say whose nephew he was. She found that her lover was many miles away. The boy took a message from her, and her lover's reply was favourable, though no present accompanied it; and when Uzinto thought thereon her heart was sad. Meantime two suitors paid her unremitting attention, but she turned a deaf ear to their prayers. After a while her lover came back, but the offended maiden would not deign

to speak to him, and when he became ill she attended to him, but in silence. After his recovery she took a little girl and set off for his kraal, under cover of the night, that she might have an interview without creating suspicion. The entrance was closed, but she threw a stone upon the hut. Then, after a scene with her lover, she fixed her value at ten cows, told him when he had worked long enough to obtain that number she would come to his kraal and be betrothed. Some time afterwards she appeared unexpectedly at her lover's kraal, and demanded to be betrothed. But the people were afraid to kill the goat without the chief's sanction, and a messenger being sent to their chief, she was obliged to go back. Again, however, she presented herself at her lover's hut, and this time, in spite of the chief's rights, the goat was killed, and she became the wife of her old lover.

This real-life incident is told in Shooter's *Kaffirs of Natal and the Zulu Country* (pp. 60-71), and I do not think it is difficult to transpose its facts to the domain of the folk-tale. Let the mother relate her adventures to her children, and they in their turn relate it to their children, and it is questionable whether the tradition would represent a very distant parallel to the folk-tale proper. Look at the Kaffir folk-tale, indeed. In Theal's *Kaffir Folk-lore* the story of Sikulume, so marvellously like many European stories in the trials that beset the lovers, is not so much unlike the narrative given above; the difficulties and trials are, of course, taken to the region of the marvellous, but their true origin might well be found in the actual facts of savage life. And a consideration of such facts ought to help forward the question as to whether the incidents of folk-tales are simply due to a borrowing from literature or to the personified nature-gods being made actors in legends, or whether they do not rather add to "the evidence in favour of myths being ordinarily formed round a nucleus of facts".¹ The Kaffir maiden's story is one that

¹ Lyall's *Asiatic Studies*, p. 31.

has been acted over and over again in savage society, told over and over again to savage children, not exclusively in any particular part of the world, but during a particular stage of culture, and could therefore have arisen independently anywhere where the same savage conditions attended the marriage of young women. If this is the theory stigmatised as casual by Mr. Jacobs, it will not die under the name.

Jamieson, in a note to one of his ballads, relates an event which happened to him in Scotland which almost exactly reproduces some of the events told in Scottish fairy tales, showing that we are too apt to judge of these fragments of the past by the light of modern days :—

“On a very hot day in the beginning of Autumn, the author was travelling afoot over the mountains of Lochaber, from Fort Augustus to Fort Inverness, and when he came to the house where he was to have breakfasted there was no person at home, nor was there any place where refreshment was to be had nearer than Durio, eighteen miles further. With this disagreeable prospect he proceeded about three miles further, and turned aside to the first cottage he saw, where he found a hale-looking, lively, tidy little middle-aged woman spinning wool, with a pot on the fire, and some greens ready to be put into it. She understood no English, and his Gaelic was by no means good. She informed him that she had nothing in the house that could be eaten except cheese, a little sour cream, and some whiskey. On being asked rather sharply how she could dress the greens without meal, she good-humouredly told him that there was plenty of meal in the croft, pointing to some unreaped barley that stood dead ripe and dry before the door ; and if he could wait half an hour he should have brose and butter, bread and cheese, bread and milk, or anything he chose. To this he most readily consented, as well on account of the singularity of the proposal as of the necessity of the time ; and the good dame set with all possible expedition about her arduous undertaking. She first of all brought him some cream in a bottle, telling him, ‘He that will not work, neither shall he eat’ ; if he wished for butter, he must shake that bottle with all his might and sing to it like a mavis all the while ;

for, unless he sung to it, no butter would come. She then went to the croft, cut down some barley, burnt the straw to dry the grain, rubbed the grain between her hands, and threw it up before the wind to separate it from the ashes; ground it upon a quern or hand-mill, sifted it, made a bannock of the meal, set it up to bake before the fire; went to her cow, singing all the while, varying the strain according to the employment to which it was adapted. In the meanwhile a hen cackled under the eaves of the cottage; two new-laid eggs were immediately plunged into the boiling kail-pot, and in less than half an hour the poor, starving, faint, and way-worn traveller, with wonder and delight, sat down to a repast that under such circumstances would have been a feast for a prince."

In this address, which I think will about complete my work as President, I have been too discursive to be exact; but I wish to add to what I have already had the opportunity of saying from this chair, something to fill up gaps in my previous addresses, something to emphasise important matters of principle previously stated, something too by way of regret and apology for having done so little for the grand subject to which this Society is devoted—a subject nearly identical with the psychical evolution of humanity. I attempted in my first year of office to indicate the work which was needed from the Society by way of collection and by way of classification. When I compare my statement of the requirements with what we have done, I am satisfied with the quality and direction of our labours, but I am disheartened as to the quantity. In my second address I was able to speak about the principles of folk-lore research, and to formulate some for our guidance. Again, comparison of hopes with realisation does not show much in favour of realisation. Still, that what we are doing now is done upon clearly defined lines, with some idea of order and method, is an immense gain, the import of which will probably be more realised in future years.

There is so much that deals with the pathos, the humour, the grandeur of human life in the work which falls to the

folk-lorist that he forgets the littlenesses and degradations of human life—nay, he accounts for these unpleasant sides of man's history, and in accounting for them he so frequently finds that brutal and bestial actions are the outcome of far from inhuman or unholy motives, that there is ample room left for a liberal view of human history. Surely there is nothing more solemnly awful than to think, as Lumholtz thinks of the Australians, that "they have no traditions ; many of them do not even know their father, and any knowledge of earlier generations is out of the question." Put the black patch of oblivion upon our own national and ancestral traditions, and I venture to think that not even the gospel of universal love would replace the loss. But folk-lore restores the Australian black fellow, low down as he is in the scale of human culture, to his place as an inheritor of traditions, and the restoration removes a blot from mankind in general, and hence broadens the outlook which the study of even the most backward races affords to the inquirer. So it is all along the line. Nothing that is trivial or revolting escapes our notice or inquiry ; nothing that man has done or thought in his worst moments, or dreamed of in his most insane, is too unholy for a folk-lorist to investigate ; and because we see that each act or thought has a parent act or thought, we find out that however irrational, cruel, and detestable men or tribes of men can be, their acts and beliefs are but a phase in the giant struggle of man for the life to which we have succeeded as our rightful heritage.

It is said that during the present month a worthy magistrate was shocked by the paganism which lurks behind the sport of snap-dragon ; but we could, I venture to think, educate him into understanding that there is sometimes more real humanity in a touch of genuine paganism than in some of the platitudes that at present do duty for higher things.

REVIEWS.

LEGENDS OF THE MICMACS. By the Rev. SILAS TERTIUS RAND, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D. Wellesley Philological Publications. New York and London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1894.

THIS work is published from the manuscripts of the late Dr. Rand. Some of the legends had been previously published by Dr. Rand in his lifetime; and Mr. Leland used his manuscripts in preparing *The Algonquin Legends of New England*, where students first made the acquaintance of the Micmac hero Glooscap. The entire collection now appears, edited by Miss Helen L. Webster, and published under the direction of the Department of Comparative Philology, Wellesley College, Massachusetts, in whose library Dr. Rand's manuscripts have been placed by Professor E. N. Horsford, who purchased them after the writer's death.

Of the genuineness of the traditions here gathered together there is no doubt, but for scientific purposes their presentation leaves something to be desired. Dr. Rand, of whose interesting life a sketch is presented in the Introduction, had his own ideas on the subject of translation. The idiom of the American aboriginal tongues is so utterly different from ours, that any approach to a literal version would have been impossible. But Dr. Rand paraphrases and interpolates comments—in a word, tells the stories, as he says, in his own way; and it is a way that cannot be commended for imitation. Take, for instance, the following passage in a variant of a well-known story:—

“Night overtook them, and they lay down in the forest under the open sky to sleep. The atmosphere was clear,

the sky cloudless. The bright stars were shining, and it was long before they fell asleep. Gazing at the stars, they were animated by the natural curiosity so beautifully expressed by the poetess,—

‘Twinkle, twinkle, little star,
How I wonder what you are,
Up above the world so high,
Like a diamond in the sky,’—

and they began to imagine them the eyes of lovers looking down on them ; they began speculating at the choice they would make.”

What aggravates the offence in this particular instance is that the translator has thought it necessary to repeat two of these magnificent verses in the same connection in another variant of the same story, and to retail the accompanying text in very similar words. Now, setting aside the verses, it is apparent that the narrative is not given in anything like the way the native Indian must have given it. And this fault runs through the whole book, though it is not always so glaring in its bad taste or so divergent from what the Micmac original may be presumed to have been.

But when we turn from the form to the matter of the book, we can only speak of its high value. It comprises a series of eighty-seven stories, taken down from the mouths of native Indians, in whose midst a great part of Dr. Rand's long life was passed, and of whose good faith he had ample means of judging. The collection may be divided into: (1) Stories which appear to be purely aboriginal ; (2) Stories which appear to be derived from European sources ; (3) Stories which are in their foundation aboriginal, but which have been more or less influenced by contact with Europeans and their civilisation. And in the two latter classes it is most instructive to observe, on the one hand, how the European stories have been adapted to aboriginal culture, moral and material, and, on the other hand, how the aboriginal stories have been warped and changed by

contact with European civilisation. Want of space compels us to forego illustrations; but there need be no hesitation in saying that to the student of the migration of folk-tales Dr. Rand's collection offers some remarkable evidence.

The historical traditions are less important than they would be if we were furnished with the means of checking the statements they contain with testimony of a more trustworthy character. But they are worth examination, even if regarded as no more than native hypotheses of such events, for example, as the origin of the feud between the Micmacs and the Mohawks, based upon native knowledge of manners and customs. Indeed, all the tales are valuable for the study of native custom and belief. In a European *märchen* we feel at once that we are in a different world from that which we inhabit day by day. But here there is no such feeling. The line between stories told for the pleasure of the telling, and the stories told because they are believed to be true, or at all events possible, is hardly drawn. We are in the same atmosphere in both cases, and there seems no reason why the story of the Magical Dancing Doll—that of Aladdin—should not be to the Indian mind as real as the historical traditions in another part of the volume.

E. S. HARTLAND.

OLD RABBIT THE VOODOO, AND OTHER SORCERERS.

By MARY ALICIA OWEN. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1893.

"MUCH allowance", writes Mr. C. G. Leland, in his Introduction to this book, "should always be made for the first work by a young writer." It was unnecessary to write thus in introducing such a work as Miss Owen's. From the first page to the last there is not a dull page in it. The portraiture of the five old women is admirable, and their talk delicious. Usually, the setting of a work on

folk-lore in a fictitious, or semi-fictitious, framework is hardly to be commended from a scientific point of view ; but in the present case the value of the book is increased. The tellers of the tales, and utterers of the aphorisms, are so carefully described, with their antecedents and descent, that we are enabled to distinguish between their opinions, and to a great extent to assign their several contributions to the various influences under which the interlocutors have come.

It is very difficult to select any of the stories for special praise where all are so good. They are by no means confined to those with which we are familiar in *Uncle Remus* and Mr. Charles Jones' *Negro Myths from the Georgia Coast*. When we come upon these we find fresh and interesting variants. Many of the tales, however—probably the greater proportion—are quite new. This is to be attributed to the mixture of Indian blood and Indian influence, which has enriched the stock both of tales and of superstitions. The prescription for attaching a dog to oneself is curious, and the story of the rabbit who tried it is extremely funny. They seem to be, at bottom, Lenape traditions. The Luck-ball, too, as here described, is largely, if not chiefly, made in accordance with Indian prescriptions. Voodooism, in fact, of which we are persuaded Miss Owen has yet much of great importance to tell us, has been affected by Indian practices in the Missouri valley to an extent of which we can adequately judge only when we have a fuller and more systematic account before us, and can compare it with what we know of Indian rites. Miss Owen was able only to whet our appetite at the London Congress ; and she is far from satisfying it on the subject of Voodoo mysteries in *Old Rabbit*. It is to be hoped that, ere long, she will give the scientific world that information she alone can supply.

The illustrations, by Miss Juliette Owen and Mr. Wain, add greatly to the amusement of the book.

E. S. HARTLAND.

MORE ENGLISH FAIRY TALES. Collected and edited by
JOSEPH JACOBS. London : David Nutt, 1894.

ANOTHER of Mr. Jacobs' and Mr. Batten's beautiful gifts to children! And a charming gift it is. But, writing, as a notice in FOLK-LORE must be written, "from the high and lofty standpoint of folk-lore" (so Mr. Jacobs phrases it), we can only deal with its scientific interest. This centres, of course, in the preface and the notes. And here, while there is much to interest the reader, there is much also from which a sound criticism must dissent. We may leave Mr. Andrew Lang to discuss with Mr. Jacobs the question whether Lowland Scotch tales are English. But we must decline to accept the editor's claim that Grimm and Asbjørnsen "did the same as" he, in re-writing at his own sweet will so many of the tales. Listen to his confession: "I have re-written most of them. . . . I have actually at times introduced or deleted whole incidents, have given another turn to a tale, while I have had no scruple in prosing a ballad or softening down overabundant dialect." To which we may add, or in seasoning the whole with "Lawk-a-mercy! and archaic touches, which are known nowadays as vulgarisms." Where does Mr. Jacobs find his authority for saying that the brothers Grimm treated their tales to this wholesale doctoring? His true defence would be boldly to avow that the text he gives is not intended for students, and there leave the matter. The student could then demand only that the genuine text of any of the tales which had not appeared elsewhere should be preserved in some accessible form—say, in the pages of FOLK-LORE.

The notes concluding the volume are full of acute suggestions and lively writing. It may be assumed that the editor's learning has here brought together most of the material on which it is possible to assert an oriental origin for the tales—not, of course, *in extenso*, but by way of reference. What does it amount to? We light by pure

chance on "The Three Feathers". Mr. Jacobs roundly declares it "is an Eastern tale, the peregrinations of which have been studied by Mr. Clouston in his *Popular Tales and Fictions*". Now the essence of Mrs. Gomme's tale of "The Three Feathers" (which is a variant of the Norse tale of "The Mastermaid") is the magical power whereby the lady keeps her inconvenient lovers at ridiculous tasks until all danger from them has passed away. We readily concede that Mr. Clouston's book is a remarkable one; but its most remarkable feature seems to be one of which not even the author is aware, namely, the singular divergence of the copies. In our copy, which evidently differs from Mr. Jacobs', not a single Eastern example of the tale in question is found. At the place cited Mr. Clouston furnishes a number of variants, including Eastern variants, of "The Wright's Chaste Wife". "The Wright's Chaste Wife" is analogous, it is true, to "The Three Feathers", in so far as it relates how a woman rid herself of several importunate suitors; but she does so in a very different manner from that of the heroine of "The Three Feathers", and without the latter's magical apparatus. Mr. Clouston, when he wrote *Popular Tales and Fictions*, was a believer in the Buddhist origin of tales, and would have been glad to trace the story of "The Three Feathers" to the East. But he does not do so in our copy. Perhaps it was a copy specially prepared for an unbeliever's reading. Mr. Jacobs falls foul of M. Bédier for denying the Eastern origin of the *fabliau* corresponding to "The Wright's Chaste Wife", gently remarking that "in his Indiaphobia M. Bédier is *capable de tout*". Are not certain Indiamaniacs capable of something?

Mr. Nutt has criticised with destructive power Mr. Jacobs' theories about the curious versions of "The Pied Piper" and "Cinderella". They may be left for the present where he has left them, though in respect of the latter the argument might be carried further. In any case, Mr. Jacobs' notes are worthy of careful study, especially by

those who wish to understand how little basis there is for the theory deriving our folk-tales from historic India.

In case the editor contemplates a further instalment of *English Fairy Tales*, he may be glad to be referred to one mentioned by Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, Book XII, chap. xvi, where a crow teaches a maid how to carry water in a sieve. "And this tale", says Scot, "I heard among my grandam's maides"—from India, of course.

E. S. HARTLAND.

SCOTTISH FAIRY AND FOLK-TALES. Selected and edited, with an Introduction, by Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS, Bart. London: Walter Scott, Limited.

THIS is a selection of about a hundred stories from J. F. Campbell, Scott, Robert Chambers, Henderson, and other printed sources, with a few from unpublished manuscripts, of which the most important is that of *Assipattle and the Mester Stoorworm*, contributed by Mr. W. Traill Dennison of West Brough, Sanday, in the Orkney Islands. Putting aside the scientific study of folk-lore, Sir George Douglas aims to speak in his Introduction of the stories "from the literary, critical, or story-teller's point of view". He professes not to undervalue the labours of the scientific student; but it is evident that his acquaintance with them is of a superficial character, otherwise the Introduction, interesting as it is, would have been rendered more interesting and trustworthy, and that, without impairing the keen sense of the beauty and wildness of the products of the Scottish imagination which the editor seeks to infuse into the reader. He would have known, for instance, that several of the superstitions he puts down as peculiar to the Scottish peasant are, in fact, by no means confined to Scotland. In discoursing on the imagination of his fellow-countrymen he draws his illustrations almost entirely from the Lowlanders, whence he appears, if we understand him rightly,

to generalise as to the entire nation. This is an inexact way of dealing with the subject. It is just as if a Southron writer were to jumble English and Welsh tales all together in a volume, and to treat them in his Introduction as the productions of a single people, while illustrating his conclusions as to the characteristics of their common imagination either from the English or the Welsh tales only. Perhaps we could not easily find better evidence of the necessity for the work of the Ethnological Survey Committee, which appears to be so long beginning its labours.

If we admit that Highland and Lowland stories may be mixed in this manner, the collection is not without merit, though more space might have been given to the former. It contains many stories not easily accessible elsewhere, and some that have never been seen in print before. We feel, from the specimens given, that we should like to know more about the manuscript collections of Mr. Dennison, Mr. Kennedy, and Mr. Ollason. *Assipattle* is, as we might expect, a purely Norse tale, and there ought to be "more where that came from". The examples of the different kinds of stories seem well selected. Those from the Rev. John Frazer's "Discourse concerning Second-sight" were quite worth reprinting. The volume is prettily got up, but it would have been more useful to the student had the editor indicated his sources in a more precise and businesslike way.

E. S. HARTLAND.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SHOULD FOLK-TALES BE TERMED MODERN?

To the Editor of FOLK-LORE.

SIR,—In controverting the views of Messrs. Newell and Jacobs with regard to their belief in the modern origin of folk-tales Mr. Nutt seems to have swept away simultaneously the right to term them modern at all. In this I venture to think he has gone too far.

Every tale has a certain individuality of its own, in so far as it consists of a definite number of particular incidents. Eliminate one or more of these, or add a new one, and the tale immediately loses its original personality, and is transformed into a fresh variant with a new form.

It is matter of judgment, varying in each particular case, how long any set form of words can be handed down orally without material change. But certainly the time has a limit. A tale consisting of from ten to fifteen incidents, some of them but loosely attached to the thread of the plot, cannot, it seems to me, have any inordinate length of life without undergoing appreciable alteration. In a hundred years it will have lost or gained somewhat, and so on with each receding century. Should the type it belongs to consist of only two incidents, as in the Cinderella groups, the tale in some form or other might remain a variant for many, perhaps for ten or more, centuries. But here, too, there must be an ultimate limit, though it is impossible to fix it.

Now, if this is true, and the word "modern" is taken to include a period of about 500 years, it appears reasonable and proper to apply the term modern to all tales placed on

record for the first time within the last few centuries. For, in speaking of them, we mean—not tales in the abstract, but—concrete tales with a definite form at a known and not very remote date: a form which cannot possibly exist unmodified for an unlimited period. To call the existing races of mankind modern does not in the least prejudice any views one may hold as to the antiquity of man, and the same applies to folk-tales.

JOHN ABERCROMBY.

[I had certainly no intention of denying to the folk-tale the capacity for development, whether of motive, incident, or style, within the period defined as modern by Mr. Abercromby, and I thank him for the opportunity of removing any misconception as to my meaning. I not only admit the capacity; but the fact that it has been exercised considerably, and increasingly of late years, seems to me the strongest argument against the recent origin of the archaic elements of the folk-tale.

I can the more easily understand my having laid myself open to misapprehension on Mr. Abercromby's part, as I misunderstood his letter in one important respect. It seemed to me to postulate an archetype for each tale, all later versions of which are departures from the purity of the original standard. On my urging objections to this view, he wrote: "I demur to being credited with believing in a single archetype from which all others of the same type have sprung. On the contrary, I regard the type merely as the fundamental incidents common to a group of tales which may have had half a dozen or more origins"—a statement with which I find myself in complete accord.

It is evident that misapprehension is likely to arise from the ambiguity of the word "modern". This may be used as simply equivalent to chronologically recent; but such usage seems to me to ignore the current significance of the word. When we speak of modern culture we certainly do not mean the culture of the Matabele, the Chinese, or the

Connemara peasant—we mean the culture of the most advanced sections of the most advanced races. Using the word in this sense, I think it may be confidently asserted that folk-tales are not modern, any more than the typical peasant story-teller is a typical “modern” man or woman. To avoid ambiguity, the first desideratum of argument, it seems to me undesirable to use modern in a simply chronological sense.

May I use the analogy of the last sentence in Mr. Abercromby’s letter to strengthen my argument against Mr. Newell and Mr. Jacobs? I am not aware that anyone regards the social, intellectual, and moral characteristics by which the savage or the peasant differs from the educated man of civilisation, as of recent origin or as due to degradation from a higher type of culture ; yet such is the view which commends itself to certain scholars in respect to the products of savage or peasant fancy.]

ALFRED NUTT.

IRISH FOLK-LORE.

To the Editor of FOLK-LORE.

SIR,—In connection with Professor Haddon’s article on Irish Folk-lore, in the September number of your Journal, the following item may be of some interest. There is a ghostly coach which drives through the streets of Tullamore—never seen, but heard quite distinctly ; in fact, my informant, of whose truthfulness there cannot be the slightest question, told me that she had herself, while standing at the open window, heard the rolling past of heavy wheels, but of coach, horses, or driver, neither she nor anyone else had ever had light or sight.

36, *Royal Crescent, Notting Hill,*
December, 1893.

NORA HOPPER.

MISCELLANEA.

Český Lid (*Bohemian Folk-Lore Journal*), November 1893.

P. 97. *Marriage Banners in the Neighbourhood of Počátek* (three woodcuts).—They are carried in the bridal procession. If a village owns none, it can hire one from a neighbouring village. They are kept by the village headman. They have patterns and pictures upon them (beasts, birds, flowers, figures, infant in cradle, wedding procession, common scenes, etc.), and inscriptions, such as: "Wedding Banner of such and such a place"; "Good luck to Bridegroom, Bride, and all the Company!" "Long live the community of such and such a place!"

101. Letter from a peasant, A.D. 1620.

102. Old Czech titles of horses in the sixteenth century.

103. Wedding in the neighbourhood of Chrastí.

112. Paintings of Houses in South Moravia; many illustrations. These are outside and inside, and are very pretty floral decorations. They resemble ancient local embroidery, of which, too, a picture is given.

122. Specimens of Folk-Songs, with Music.

148. "Souls of persons who die by drowning, shooting, hanging, or suicide are condemned to wander for ever over the earth, and live in the grey clouds. When there is a great deal of water in the clouds the soul cannot hold it up, and rain falls quickly. Once, when the clouds came near our village, a peasant fainted. For a long time they tried to arouse him; when he recovered himself, he related that there was a great noise in the sky, that there the souls of the unhappy ones in the cloud were calling one to the other, 'Hold up!' 'Can't.' There was a man in our village had no end of books, full of charms and curses against disease, and what not. Once, when the clouds were near, he was cursing them out of a book, when he looked up and saw his poor daughter, drowned awhile since. Three drops of blood fell on the book. He went home and threw all his books in the fire. What else he saw in the sky he never would tell."

151. *Story of the Origin of the Horse*.—A peasant was digging with a hoe in the field. St. Paul came there, and asked of the peasant how he was getting on. The peasant grumbled it was heavy work, but he was digging up the whole field with a hoe. St. Paul had com-

passion on the peasant, and gave him for his help a pair of oxen. Afterwards again the Devil went round the field, and asked of the peasant how his work fared with the oxen. The peasant grumbled that the oxen were too lazy, and that he could not get through much work with them. And the Devil gave the peasant a pair of horses, that they might go quickly for him. Another time St. Paul came thither again, and asked the peasant how the horses helped his work. But the peasant grumbled again that the horses flew about the field, like devils, and that he couldn't get through his work with them. At this St. Paul pulled out a knife and cut the sinews upon the horses' feet. The sinews fell over and became the horses' knuckles. From that time horses have knuckles above their hoofs, and are better for work in the fields, and they are not so skittish as when the peasant had them from the devil; however, their flesh is not eaten, because horses are just the devil's handiwork. [The Christian saints and devil are quite naturalised in Slavonic folk-tales, as may be seen at a glance into the collections.]

152 ff., 160. Pictures of national costume, embroidery, and the like.

158, 159. Pictures of most extraordinary wedding cakes.

178 ff. Ancient Stone Crosses, with pictures.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

**Folk-lore Items from *North Indian Notes and Queries* (vol. iii),
July–September, 1893.**

POPULAR RELIGION.

116. *Mirzapur. Local Gods.*—A detailed account of the worship of several. P. 56 *b*, mention is made of the custom of vowing a gold image of any diseased part, which is duly done in case of recovery. [W. H. D. R. has two such offerings, in silver, got from Indian coolies by a priest in Mauritius.]

117. *Jain Rosaries.* 118. *Rosaries.*—It is mentioned that images of gods which are stolen from other people are much more valuable than those bought or otherwise got. They are more easily propitiated. [See 199, below.]

157. *Rosaries.*

158. *Curious Charm against Snake-bite.*—(Peacocks' feathers are nearly always used by Hindus in their charms and spells. Spitting appears.) Others against cattle-disease, fever, spirits, thieves. Ashes are used, to which a Scotch parallel is quoted.

“When a man yawns, it is very wrong not to snap the fingers three or seven times. It is said that the Emperor Akbar once yawned, and while his courtiers were snapping their fingers, his minister, Birbal,

thrust his whole hand into the emperor's mouth. On being asked why he did this, he answered : ' *Your majesty's soul was just on the point of leaving your body*, and these rascals made it a sign to depart quickly, and I was obliged to keep it in at any cost.' "

[The belief that the soul comes out of the mouth is too common to need illustration ; but one or two exx. from Greek may be cited as specially interesting. Herondas, 3. 3: "Thrash this boy until his miserable soul is at his very lips"—*ἄχρῖς ἢ ψυχῇ | αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ χειλέων μοῦνον ἢ κακῇ λειφοῖ*. Homer constantly speaks of the soul passing the *ἔρκος ὀδόντων*—"the fence of the teeth." The poets have made a pretty use of this. Plato, Frag. 1 (*Bergk.*, p. 299): *τὴν ψυχὴν Ἀγαθῶνα φιλῶν ἐπὶ χεῖλεσιν ἔσχον* ἦλθε γὰρ ἢ τλήμων ὥς διαβησομένη—"I kist Agathon, and stayed his soul at the lips ; for the poor thing came up as tho' with intent to issue." *Anthol.*, 5. 14: "Sweet is Europa's kiss, even if it touch but the lips. But it is not so her kiss touches : the pressure of her lips draws up the soul from the toes and finger-tips"—*ἀλλ' ἐρίσασα | τὸ στόμα, τὴν ψυχὴν ἐξ ὀνύχων ἀνάγει*. All will remember Tennyson's "And our spirits rushed together at the meeting of the lips."]

159. Ceremonies in worship of a Saint. (The family priest wears things which belonged to the saint himself.)

196. Snake-worship in Kulu.

197. It is the wont, on first visiting one of the passes in Kulu, to set up a stone on end. A sheep or goat is killed, and given to the companions, or some food is distributed. It is said to have once been customary to write the name on the stone, and the shapes certainly suggest that they were once carved roughly in human shape. [Jacob in Bethel.]

198. Saharanpur. Village god is a heap of earth besmeared with cow-dung. Offerings to the Manes. Votive offerings of wooden statuettes of children offered by women to procure birth or long life for their children.

199. *The Holi Festival*.—Burning of a sacred tree. They leap over its ashes to get rid of itch, etc. Villagers try to *steal* one of the rags tied to this tree in a neighbouring village, which is very propitious. [See 117, above.]

In Gwalior they burn heaps of cow-dung instead. A nude figure (called Nathurām) is often set up in bazaars. The women sing obscene songs to him. One kind of image is well carved, of wood, and preserved ; the other is of brick, disgusting to look at, and is broken by blows of shoes and bludgeons when the cow-dung is fired. No household can be without an image of N. One is placed by the couch of a bride when she first visits her husband. Barren women, and those whose children do not live, pray to him for help.

200. Worship of Dulha Deo.

201. The rivalry between Allahabad and Benares.

202. Production of Sacred Fire by the fire-drill described.

203. Agricultural Ceremonies and Omens (N.-W. P.). Interesting and detailed. We find dedications of a portion to the gods ; and the ceremonial sowing is done with *face veiled*, that no inauspicious person may be seen. [The Roman custom, for which here a reason is given.]

The crow is an evil omen ; so are kites and vultures. Many curious superstitions of birds. If a man answers the owl, he is sure to die. When a wagtail first appears everyone bows to it. [The Greeks bowed to the kite ; Arist., *Birds*, 502 ; the scholiast says it was because they betokened the coming of spring.]

The howl of a wolf or jackal in a village ; bark of a dog, and twitching of its ears ; cat crossing the road before a journey ; sight of leper, paralytic, beggar—all are unlucky. Worst of all, is to see a *one-eyed man* ; and an oil-seller is nearly as bad.

204. *Worship of Nim Tree*.—Supposed to propitiate the goddesses of all kinds of epidemics which prevail in summer.

205, 243. A Sweeper-Saint. (Miraculous Conception, or Woman conceives by eating two barley-corns ; another eats some resin.) The son was hallowed, serpents were his playthings, and arched over his pillow as he slept. After his death, he returns to visit his wife by night on a winged charger. (A well-told and exciting tale.) A full account of the ritual of this saint's cult is given. One part of it was invented to give "the mushroom ritual some respectable origin and antiquity". Symbolised sacrifice of a goat by merely *slitting its left ear*.

ETHNOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY.

119. Palamau : the Bihors. Marriage Ceremonies. The bride runs out of the feast, and the man chases her. 152. Marriage by Capture : traces at Sirsa.

121. Traces of fossil man in India.

123. Bards and Genealogists : the *Charan* tribe of Kathiawar. When a C. cannot get what he wants, or thinks he has been unjustly dealt with, he will cut or wound himself, or perhaps take the life of some member of his family, in order that the blood of the victim may rest upon the head of his oppressor. The mere threat of this usually gains his end.

124. Bawariyas of Sirsa. Four divisions, which eat not together nor intermarry. They say they will not eat fish. [They are apparently becoming Hinduised, like so many other Indian tribes.] A queer mode of catching a certain kind of lizard :—Tie a wisp of straw

to a long stick, and move it over the hole. The lizard hears the rustle, thinks it is a snake, and that he may as well give in at once. So he puts out his tail from the hole, that he may not see his executioner. The sportsman catches hold.—If this be true, it is a most extraordinary instance of the fascination of snakes. But the writer states that he has not seen this himself. (See further, in 210.)

125. The Bawariyas have a special dialect, sometimes supposed to be a thieves' slang; but "the women and children most commonly speak it; while the men, at all events in their intercourse with their neighbours, speak the ordinary Bāgri or Panjābi," which points another way.

126. Hoshiarpur. Modified exogamy. Infanticide of female children, at the doing of which a piece of sugar is placed on the child's tongue, a skein of cotton on her breast, and this rhyme said two or three times :—

"Eat your sugar, spin your thread;
We don't want you, but a brother instead."

127. Sirsa.—The Twenty-nine Precepts of the Bishnoi sect.

160. Weapons of Flint or other Stone.

161. Professional Tiger-killers in Assam.

162. Accounts of the people of the Malāna Valley. They make images of cows, and sacrifice to them. They burn the dead; have vague rules of exogamy. A *high rounded stone* as image of deity. One worshipped under form of a *trident* by shepherds. They allow two brothers (but not more) to have one wife.

163-170. Problems in rhyme.

171. Lending of wives or daughters to an honoured guest.

206. Curious Kol festival (once every twelve years). Girls, wearing turbans, go in procession armed with sticks, spears, and axes. (Disguise.) They make raids on neighbouring villages, and no resistance is allowed.

207. Durability of hæmatite drawings on sandstone rocks.

208. Arithmetical puzzles for boys.

209. Mock combat of slings between boys.

212. Santals.—Prostitution compulsory for each girl once in her life.

213. Death Customs (Agarwala Baniyas). Gold placed in the mouth.

FOLK-TALES.

130. *The Manjhi Girl and the Bamboo*.—Brothers kill and eat their sister, from whose bones a bamboo springs. Every night the girl used to come out of the bamboo and walk about. The King catches her and marries her.

131. *The Goat and the Tiger*.—A tiger befooled by a goat, something after the Brer Rabbit style.

132. *The Brahman's Piety*.—In this the Brahman and his son rob a house to get alms for two deities. The son is inside the house when the alarm is given, and the father cuts his head off to prevent his being recognised, as in the story of Rhampsinitus' Treasury (*Herod.*, ii, 121).

133. *The Brahman and the Snake*.—A "gold-giving serpent". It contains a neat proverb: "Strike the striker, and never mind the sin."

134. *The Faithful Mongoose*.—(A Beth Gelert tale.) Another variant given.

135. *The Master Thief*.—A clever tale. 136, 172. The same: a variant. In both of these a horse is one of the things stolen. (Blood used to mark the door, as in Ali Baba.)

173. *The Valiant Weaver-Bird*.—A quaint tale, containing the "Faithful Animal".

174. *The Sepoy's Son*.—A clever boy, who wins renown and wealth by his answers, which recall the Abbot of Canterbury and King John.

175. *The Wit of the Four Brothers*.—Contains a variety of well-known elements: Youngest brother obtaining the wealth. Riddle test, divining all about an ass and its rider from signs by the way, etc. The Editor notes: "The influence of the mother over the child remains until she is purified on the sixth day. A shadow of anyone falling on a woman in this state is believed to affect the child."

176. *The Cunning of the Lala*.

177. *Shekh Chilli in Love*.—(A fool.)

178. *The Raja and the Sādhu*.

214. *The Judgment of the Jackal*.—Resembles the "Traveller and the Oilman" in Swynnerton, *Indian Nights' Entertainments*, p. 142. [A repartee similar in principle is found in *Jataka*, No. 218. A man deposits some ploughshares with another, who sells them and pleads that the mice have eaten them up. The first man hides the second's son, and pleads that a hawk has carried him off. This story has more point than the *Judgment of the Jackal*.]

215. *Ganga Ram the Parrot*.—(A man falls in love with a woman from seeing her shoes.)

216. *The Disguised Princess*.—"One of the Indian variants of Cinderella." A wife exposed in the jungle. She gets a *covering of wood* made, to go about in unobserved. She gets employment at her husband's palace, and by various devices wins his attention; thus she prevents his marriage, which was a-preparing, and he takes her back again.

217. *The King and the Fairy*.—"Another of the Cinderella type.")

The woman is clothed in leather, and covered in a dirty sheet. As she was bathing, a hair fell in the river ; the King's son found it, and fell in love with its owner. She marries him in the end. [The accessories of both of these are quite unusual, but too long to give here.]

218. *The King and his Secret*.—He had horns ; only his barber knew. How can a half-seer cup hold a seer ? The barber whispered the secret to a tamarind tree. Of this tree a drum was made ; and whenever it was beat, it cried : "There are horns on the King's head !" By the aid of the fairies, the King got rid of his horns. Moral : Don't tell your secrets to anybody. (The Editor compares King Midas.)

219. *The Fate of the Raja of Chandrapur*.—The sacrifice of an only son to save the King's life. Many parallels are quoted by the Editor.

220. *How the Qazî's Wife became a Widow*.—A comical tale of a fool, and how he mourned to hear that his own wife had become a widow.

221. *How the Soldier's Wife foiled her Lovers*.—A variant of the tale discussed by Clouston, ii, 289 ff. [It occurs in the *Jataka*, but I have mislaid the reference. It is one of those which are figured on the Stupa of Bharhut ; Cunningham, Plate xxv, 3.]

MISCELLANEA.

137. Lead currency in Siam.

138. Charm to cure Tumours. (Cross shape.)

139-142. Charms against Tigers ; to gain a Living ; for Exorcism ; and to make a woman give up her jewels (the last charm now in the Madras Museum).

143, 225. Coins of Jaunpur Kings.

144. *How the Thief was Converted*.

148. *A dangerous Ghost*.

151. Execution of a murderer who had killed a young girl of 7, and drank her blood while still warm, by which he expected to get supernatural powers.

153. Importance of Maternal Uncle in Marriage Ceremonies.

155. Sorcery to procure offspring : human sacrifice required. The body of a boy had been found, covered with burns and pin-pricks.

156. Proverbs on Castes.

179. *Snake Worship*.

180. Divorce amongst Marwar Baniyas. The husband cuts off an end of his turban, and gives it to the assembled caste-men.

181. Bridegroom rides on a donkey before marriage.

183. Identification of the Svastika with the Sun.

187. Images of missionaries worshipped. [The name of my friend Mr. T. Richard, who helped largely to combat the great famine in North China (Shansi) some years ago, has been put up in some temples beside that of Confucius.—W. H. D. R.]

189. A healing spring: its origin.

191. Children seek for elephant's hair, because they think that being golden and curved it will procure them a golden sword. [Imitative Magic.]

194. Love-song.

195. Funerals in Kumaun.

222. *Kumaun Folk-lore*.—"When the dead appear before Bhagwan he finds it very difficult to ascertain whether they are Hindus or Muhaminadans, and the only way of making this certain is to be *tattooed* in the regular style."

Sorcery.—A cup, gourd, or earthen jar is smeared with turmeric, and a *virgin seated on it*. [Remember that the Pythian priestess at Delphi *sat upon the tripod*. One Greek vase has a picture of her in this attitude.]

Trial by Ordeal: hot iron ball held in the hand.

Human sacrifice under the walls of new-built forts.

Manufacture of *human oil* from boys.

Hail-charm.

224. The correct month in Leap-year.

226. Scape-bullock in case of Cholera. [Much information on this custom, and the Scape-goat, is given in Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections*, vol. i, reprinted last year in Constable's *Oriental Miscellany*—a valuable work.]

229. Charm against headache.

231. A barber will not shampoo one leg without the other, lest a dog should bite him.

234. Austerities of the Sufi sect. Very odd.

239. Proverbs about the value of oxen of different colours.

240. Tale of a Grave-robber. (Silver coins buried in the mouths of the deceased for travelling expenses, else they have no rest in heaven.)

241. Fairy Gift legend.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

Oxfordshire Mummers.—The illustration on the opposite page, reproduced by the courtesy of the proprietors of *The Daily Graphic* from the number of January 4th, 1894, represents the performers in a Mummer's Play at Oxford. The duellists in the foreground represent King William of Prussia and the Duke of Cumberland. The other characters in the play are a personage called "Jack Finny", an old man and an old woman

It is much to be wished that members of the Society would seize the opportunity of photographing any similar scenes. The example of *The Daily Graphic* may also be commended to other illustrated



papers, which not infrequently publish illustrations which have a permanent value for folk-lore students. The Editor would be grateful for permission to insert these in FOLK-LORE.

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Literatur auf dem Gebiete der Anthropologie, der Ethnologie und der Urgeschichte. *Martin*, Neuere englische Literatur auf dem Gebiete der Anthropologie, der Ethnologie und der Urgeschichte (143 Nos.).

Mittheilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien, xxiii, 3-4.

K. Penka, Die Herkunft der Germanen (the most recent statement of the theory of the Scandinavian origin of the Germanic peoples).—6. *A. Peez*, Thierseuchen und die Leonhards-Kirchen der Ostalpen. *P. H. Brincker*, Ueber den Gottesbegriff der Bantu Neger. Among the numerous and full reviews of books which make up the greater part of this number, that of *Sarasin's* Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftl. Forschungen auf Ceylon, deserves special attention. It seems to contain the best account of the Veddahs.

Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde, iii, 4. *F. Vogt*, Beiträge zur deutschen Volkskunde aus älteren Quellen. *T. Siebs*, Das Saterland (cont.). *E. Schatzmayer*, Villotte friulane (cont.). *A. Gittée*, Scherzhaft gebildete und angewendete Eigennamen im Niederländischen. *M. Höfler*, Der Geruch vom Standpunkte der Volkskunde. Kleine Mitteilungen. Bücheranzeigen.—iv, 1. *A. Hauffen*, Das deutsche Volkslied in Oesterreich-Ungarn. *J. Bolte*, Das Märchen vom Gevatter Tod. *P. Sartori*, Der Schuh im Volksglauben. *A. Englert*, Wiegenlieder aus dem Spessart. *J. G. Christaller*, Negermärchen von der Goldküste. *S. Singer*, Buddhistische weibliche Heilige. *K. E. Haase*, Bastlösereime. *Th. Hell*, Auf einem Bauernhof im Gsiessthal in Tirol. *A. Baumgart*, Verschiedenes vom Aberglauben von Sitten und Gebräuchen in Mittelschlesien. Kleine Mitteilungen. Bücheranzeigen.

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SAGA-GROWTH.

BY F. YORK POWELL.

That the native Icelandic Saga in its origin and growth helps to explain like processes going on elsewhere seems probable, and it is perhaps worth while to notice its development as briefly as may be here with but scant detail.

The Icelandic Saga—a prose epic, telling the life of some interesting person of the past in regular style and method—seems to have come about somewhat as follows:—A man, whose career had made him widely known in his life, dies, leaving behind him a memory for good or for evil. This “memory” consists of some particulars concerning his family, native place, position, and a small number of anecdotes (as, for lack of a better term, we may call them) characteristic of the man and illustrating his personality, sometimes by a pithy phrase, oftener by a notable deed.

The mass of the *Landnáma-bók* details are such traditional anecdotes epitomised by Are or his informants.

A stock of remembrance falls into the hands, or rather comes into the mouth, of some person skilled in the gentle art of narration. Now of this art there were many exponents, some professional, such as the poets and wandering tramps

and tradesmen, who, like the Highland tailors of the last century, had plenty of tales for kindly and appreciative patrons ; but some also amateurs, like Ingimund in Sturlunga Saga, and other persons of respectability who were known to possess the power of interesting their audience.

That the Icelanders possessed the gift of oral narration to an extreme degree is certain, and it is possible that they drew it from the sojourn so many of the settlers made in the Western Islands (as our British group was styled), where Celtic professional relaters of tales had long practised and had worked out a regular manner and method of telling heroic histories.

In comparison with the manner of the Irish masterpieces the Icelandic Saga style is more sober, more prosaic, less extravagant, more attentive to character, less alive to natural circumstance, more regular in method, less rich in vocabulary, poorer in invention, truer in record, than extant specimens of Gaelic story-telling.

The Icelandic story-teller proceeded to put the material he had gathered and was desirous to work up into regular Saga form. He had a framework or skeleton which he clothed with his epic narrative. His chief topics, if he is relating a true tale of some Icelandic worthy, will be, after a statement of the names and place of habitation of his introductory personages, the birth and bringing-up of his hero ; his first entrance upon man's estate, and the adventures by which his power was recognised ; the main adventures upon which his fame rests ; his death (often tragic, and accompanied by a carefully exacted vengeance, which satisfied the popular ethic), and the consequences, if they are of interest and necessary to complete the tale.

The *first phase* such a saga will assume is probably a short tale with just sufficient connections supplied by the narrator's art as will knit up the various isolated traditions he is using into an artistic and consistent whole.

We have few sagas of this form, but they can be traced without much difficulty beneath the later additions, and

are sometimes clearly cognisable in the compound sagas for which they supply the genuine material.

The *next phase* is one in which several such small sagas are combined by an artistic narrator into a whole complex large saga.

Specimens of this sort are the Eyrbyggja Saga, Gudmund's Saga, Laxdæla and Nial's Saga, where in different degrees, and with very different skill, many small biographies are melted down into an often elaborate and highly-wrought history of the district for several generations.

Stories might pass through both these stages and still be left pure from foreign matter, save that with which tradition itself had garnished them, while they were being told round bivouac fires or on a night-watch at sea by the comrades or contemporaries of the hero to a younger generation, or to persons from a different part of the country. Thus a folk-tale might adhere to a genuine character or a genuine anecdote, and it may be sometimes difficult to distinguish between this early natural adhesion, and a late and deliberate addition. But stories that have reached the second phase have usually been helped into it by book-learned scribes.

For these phases (the first of which certainly preceded the use of writing for recording these stories) were not the only forms that the original traditionary material was forced to assume in the course of time.

When it became interesting to *writers* to gather traditions, and necessary to put them into accepted saga form for audiences and patrons, the merest fragments of a forgotten story would suffice to the professional restorers and imitators. They would build up a large and perfectly worthless (worthless both as regards art and history) structure upon a nickname, a bit of genealogy, the name of a homestead, or a single tradition or scrap of verse. So the saga of Gunnlaug Snakestongue is almost entirely unhistorical, untraditional, and the work of a scribe deliberately "making bricks without straw".

The matter used for stuffing out old sagas or manufacturing new ones relating to real persons may be roughly analysed into :

(a) *Folk-tales* of varied origin, but in native form, *e.g.*, the "Enfance" tales, of the Tom Tram type, in Grettir's Saga.

(b) *Foreign folk-tales*, adapted or inserted almost without change. Part of the story of Tristram is used in Grettir's Saga, and Bosc's Saga is enriched from a rank fabliau.

(c) Tales of *giants*, especially common to the pseudo-heroic sagas (with which we are not now dealing), and ultimately copied from older genuine tales.

(d) Tales of *ghosts*, sometimes native, sometimes apparently drawn from old continental tradition.

(e) Stories of *bandits* or outlaws, when the scene is often laid in Norway, imitating very possibly in some cases the famous Ingemund tale, inserted rather awkwardly into *Landnáma-bók*.

(f) Stories of *Bear-Sarks*, by which much-abused word the Icelandic audience did not understand Harold Shock-head's historic skinclad champions, but certain fierce and frenzied bullies, who played the same part toward a Norwegian franklin as the giant in the Romances does toward the Soldan, challenging him for his daughter, and meeting well-earned death at the hands of the young stranger guest. These stories are frequent in pseudo-heroic sagas, and Saxo's informants supplied him with them. They occur in Egil's Saga.

(g) Stories of *single combats* and *wagers of battle*, especially those that are made to occur abroad. These imitate genuine stories, such as those of *Landnáma-bók*, and are very frequent.

(h) Narratives of *buccaneering* or *sea-roving* in the Baltic and British seas; rubbish such as chokes parts of Nial's Saga and of many more; matter void of historic basis, and marked by poverty of incident and baldness of phrase.

Such excrescences as these are comparatively easy to recognise and condemn, as are the imitations of good sagas,

inane variations, invariably spoilt in the transfer, of genuine *motiven*. There is other forged matter harder to deal with.

(*i*) The amplification of a *fact* into a narrative, as, for example, in Egil's Saga, the possible fact that Egil fought at *Brunanburh* is amplified into an incredible and baseless account of the battle, as minute and impossible as the parallel inventions of the Pseudo-Ingulf. Such amplifications do not deceive the elect, but they completely bamboozle the run of readers, and find, as Ingulf has, ardent and uncritical defenders. The forgery in these cases is really pretty easy to distinguish from the legitimate epic story: the latter is always idiomatic and beautiful, the former flat, dull, prosy.

(*j*) The amplification of a *verse* or *allusion* into a narrative. Harder to detect, because a verse sometimes floats a traditional explanation upon it; and such a case must be distinguished from a case where the compiler or restorer has got hold of a scrap of verse, fixed it in a new framework, and supplied a mass of fiction to surround and set it off.

(*k*) *Forged verses*. Such are common.

(*l*) Scraps of *old law* and *pseudo-archaic law*; as, for example, in Nial's Saga.

(*m*) The amplification of *personal* or *place-names*. This is far more common than has been acknowledged hitherto, and there are Icelandic sagas largely built up on such untrustworthy foundations.

Let us take *two instances* of the way a saga has been manufactured by the scribe's pen as distinct from the way the genuine materials were rounded off by the storyteller's lips.

I will take Egil's Saga for one: first, as it has lately been clearly translated in a cheap and handy form by Mr. C. W. Green, and is therefore accessible to every English folk-lore student; and, secondly, because the translator has on this question referred his readers to the "Northern Editors", Einar Thordarson (1856) and Finnur Jonsson (1888),

whose ludicrously uncritical statements he too modestly respects. Of Einar Thordarson, whose work was done before the possibility of critical study of the sagas had been seen save by a few scholars, one need not speak; but for a "Northern Editor" nowadays to treat Egil's Saga as "true, with small and unimportant exceptions", in "what concerns persons and events in Iceland and Norway", is almost laughably absurd.

The saga of Egil, a complex saga in the second phase, is founded upon various material—

1. Real *traditions of Egil* himself.
2. *Poems of Egil*; but the greater mass of Egil's verse was unknown to the compiler of the saga as we have it.
3. *Landnáma-bóc*, unintelligently studied.
4. Pieces out of the *Lives of the Kings of Norway* (not now extant in the abridged *Lives of the Hemisringla* type).

These are worked up into a § I, Saga of Thorolf Queld-Ulf's son (i-xxix), founded upon 3 and 4, elaborately enlarged; and § II, a saga of Egil (xxix-xc), Scald-Grim's son, founded upon 1 and 2, garnished with a huge mass of idle bombastic stuff. § III is a late scribal Epilogue (xci-xcii).

Are's (original) account of Queld-Ulf's settlement is worth citing, as showing what a long sermon a short text may furnish:—"Harold Fairhair had Thorolf slain north in Alost at Sandness on the false witness of the sons of Hilderid. King Harold would not pay were-gild therefor. Then Grim and Queld-Ulf made ready a merchantman, meaning to go to Iceland, for they had got news of Ingolf their friend there. They lay at Solund ready for sea; there they took the ship that King Harold had taken from Thorolf when his men were new come from England, and they slew there Hallward Hardfarer and Sigtrygg Sharpfarer, that had wrought this. They also slew there the sons of Guttorm, son of Sigurd Heart, kinsmen of the king, and all their ship's crew, save two men that they sent to tell the king the tidings. They made both ships ready

for Iceland, and thirty men on each. Queld-Ulf steered the one that was there taken. Grim the Halogalander, son of Thore, son of Gunnlaug, son of Hrolf, son of Ketil Keelfarer, was captain with Queld-Ulf on the ship he steered. They kept ever in sight of each other at sea, and when they had been long at sea Queld-Ulf fell ill. Then he bade them make a coffin for his body if he died, and bade them tell Grim, his son, to take up his abode in Iceland, not far off where his coffin came to land, if this should happen . . . Scald Grim raised a homestead hard by the burgh where the coffin of Queld-Ulf had come to land, and called it *at Burgh* . . . [at Borg], and he called the firth also Burghfirth." This, with the entries concerning the settlements and grants of Scald-Grim and his companions, furnish matter for much of § I. But there are also the bits out of the Kings' Lives; *e.g.*, chapters viii and ix have bits of a paraphrase of the Raven Lay, chapters i, ii, iii, iv, v, viii, ix, xiii, xvi, xxii, have notices of Aulver hnuf, Harold Fairhair's poet; chapters x, xiv, xvii, have references to the fur-trade and the Quens; and chapter xxii gives Thorolf's death words, good enough to be genuine. There was probably a short tale of Aulver hnuf, now lost, that once contained a brief narrative of Thorolf's fate.

§ II, the Egil's Saga proper, opens with a local anecdote of Scald-Grim, showing true tradition combined with false verses; chapter xxxviii has an anecdote of Scald-Grim and his axe; chapter xl a local *nomenclative* tale of Scald-Grim and Egil's nurse Brac; and lxi has a traditional account of Scald-Grim's death: all that remains of what has never grown into a separate Scald-Grim's Saga.

That a number of verses, such as those in chapters xl, xlvii, and xlviii, were in old metre, and were traditional, but probably not originally connected with Egil, Dr. Vigfússon noticed years ago.

The whole story of Winheath (by which Brunanburh is clearly intended) is false. There were no earls in

Northumberland named Ælfgar and Gudric in Æthelstan's day (their names come from a later time). There never were earls of Bretland called Hring and Adils. The two Anlafs have been rolled into one. Constantine is ignored altogether, as is Æthelstan's brother. There is no local knowledge. The bribery story recalls a passage in Saxo drawn from some late saga. Every detail of the battle, arms, armour, tactic and strategic, is palpably false. *Land-náma-bóc* witnesses to Thorfinn the Strong having been Thorolf's standard-bearer, and so he is made to fight here, though for this there is no authority. It is not, indeed, unlikely that Egil fought and Thorolf fell, and that Æthelstan at some time gave Egil treasure tradition certainly seems to hold (though the story of Egil's concealment of his treasure is a repeat of his father's similar behaviour). The stories of Arnliot and Bard, of Ake, of Berg-Onund, of Liot the Pale, show no sign of truth.

Chapters lxii-lxiv speak well and briskly of the meeting of Egil and the king at York, and give the curious tradition (told of other poets) of a prisoner saving his head by his powers of verse. Some genuine lines are used to support the attribution of this tale to Egil.

Chapter lxviii has a bit of antiquarian lore in it, but the story seems baseless; and chapter lxxii mentions the Frisian dykes.

Chapters lxxiii-lxxviii are unhistorical, referring to events suiting a later date, such as that of St. Olave and of Sighwat (on whose famous journeys they may indeed be founded). The drinking story is probably a folk-tale.

Chapters lxxxi, lxxxii, lxxxiii, lxxxiv, and chapter xc with the Epilogue, are part of the genuine Egil's Saga.

Chapters lxxxv-lxxxix tell the story of Thorstan Egilsson and his feuds; they are perhaps founded on fact, but can hardly, if we may trust Egil's own words in his poems, give anything like the true story.

To sum up, there are out of this saga of ninety-two chapters, perhaps nine relating to Egil and four to his

father, Scald-Grim. These have been padded out and increased to more than sixty : to these have been prefixed twenty-nine chapters, of which about a third seem to be founded on the Kings' Lives, the rest of them being mere expansions (as is much of the later part of the saga) of extant *Landnáma-bók* entries. Not a single detail, save where a piece of Egil's poetry confirms the prose, or where there is obvious quotation or obvious local traditions, can be supposed by any observant student to be genuine.¹ Yet this very saga is still being referred to as "historical", and modern "scholars" talk of its "truth", and gravely dispute over the chronologic details of its wholly fictitious journeys, law-suits, and the like, to the astonishment and sometimes amusement of the critic.

As a second and final illustration here, I may take *Færeyinga Saga* (which I hope shortly to print in English), a beautiful story, wherein, though the traditional basis is not so fine or rugged as that of *Egil's Saga*, the compiler's pen has been more skilfully used. It falls into *ten* sections of fairly equal size ; of these—

Four, or parts of four, preserve the genuine traditional local basis—a *Thronð's Saga* we might call it, from its heroic name, rather than *Sagas of Sigmund and Leif*.

Two are genuine work of the style of the Kings' Lives, and contain an episode of King Olave Tryggvesson's Life, touching the conversion of the Færeys or Faroes.

¹ With Egil's poetry I am not concerned here further than to note that *Hofudlausn*, as it stands, cannot be supposed genuine for the following reasons, which I owe to Dr. Vigfússon, December 1888, and with which I concur :—

1st. One notes the absence of exact historical allusion save in a few lines.

2nd. The king's eke-name and famous weapon, the *axe*, are never mentioned ; the *bow* is, on the contrary, celebrated : a weapon consonant to a later time.

3rd. The metrical peculiarities are non-archaic and highly artificial.

4th. The style is wholly unlike that of the true fragments of Egil in his *Sona-torrec*.

One is a pretty folk-tale, fairly well worked into the saga, of which, however, it clearly never was an integral part.

Three are flatly fictitious, without the slightest veridical foundation, and of the banal type of the worst additions to Nial's and other sagas.

Here is genuine material from two sources, mixed together and eked out with at least a third of fictitious and adventitious additions.

The composition of these two sagas in their present shape belongs to the first half of the thirteenth century. They were in no shape committed to writing before *c.* 1110, and what true tradition was written after that date had existed for some time (at least a century) on the lips of oral reciters. See *Sturlunga Saga*, 1878, *Prolegomena*, xlvii, xlviii, lxv, lxvi, xcii.

The moral of all this I must leave fellow-folk-lorists to apply. It is surely interesting to find a class of documents, wherein the various accretions to which a definite local tradition is liable are so clearly to be traced. It would be useful to set to work at classifying and examining this basal tradition, over which later formations, like superposed strata, have been flung. Such further examination, however, I must needs defer to another occasion.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21st, 1894.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. G. Laurence Gomme, F.S.A.) in the chair.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new members was announced, viz.: Mr. James Campbell, Mrs. Strueber, the Surgeon-General's Office (Washington, D.C.), Messrs. Röhrscheid and Ebbecke, Mr. F. A. Brockhaus, Mr. A. Hussey, Prof. E. Anichkof, and Miss Marjory Wardrop.

The Chairman exhibited a lucky bone, sent by Miss Rouse of Cheltenham, and a nail with human hair attached, sent by Mr. F. Fawcett, with a note explaining the use to which it was put in exorcising spirits in South India.

The Chairman read a letter addressed by the Rev. R. H. Clutterbuck of Penton Mewsey Rectory, Andover, to Mr. Brabrook, detailing a recent case of witchcraft at Abbott's Anne, in the Anton Valley, Hants.

The following books and pamphlets were laid upon the table, viz.: "Annuaire des Traditions populaires", presented by the Soc. des Traditions populaires; "The Victoria Quarterly Review for October 1892", by Dr. Cargill; and "Words and Phrases of South-East Worcestershire", by Mr. J. Salisbury.

Professor E. Anichkof read a paper entitled "St. Nicolas and Artemis" (*infra*, p. 108 *et seq.*), and a discussion followed, in which the President, Dr. Blind, Messrs. Nutt, Jacobs, and Gaster took part.

The Rev. Dr. Gaster read several Gipsy fairy tales from Roumania. In the discussion which followed, the President, Mr. Hartland, Miss Lucy Garnett, Mr. Kirby, and Mr. Nutt took part.

Papers on "An East Anglian Harvest Custom", by Mr. W. B. Gerish (*infra*, p. 167), and on the "Roman van Walewein", by Prof. W. P. Ker (*infra*, p. 121 *et seq.*), were also read.

ST. NICOLAS AND ARTEMIS.

BY EUGENE ANICHKOF.

In the Middle Ages the belief in St. Nicolas, Archbishop of Myra in Lycia, as a patron of sailors was widely spread. Many churches were built in his honour on the sea-shore.¹ Among his numerous miracles, many were supposed to have been worked at sea. It is, for example, related that a merchant, before embarking on a ship, went to the church of St. Nicolas at Constantinople, and there prayed eagerly. When he was at sea the weather suddenly became very rough, and he was threatened with great danger. But St. Nicolas did not forget the prayers addressed to him, and abated the storm.² Many similar miracles could be added.³

The old French romance of St. Nicolas, by Wace, relates an analogous miracle. Once a ship was in great danger—

“Donc comencent tuit a crier,
Deu e ses sainz a reclamier.
Mult se cleiment cheitif e las
Sovent crient : saint Nicholas,
Socour nus, saint Nicholas sire,
Se tiels es cum oomes dire !
A tant uns hom lor aparut
Qui en la nief od els estut,
Et itant at a els parlie ;
Io sui que m’avez appelle
Isnel le pas l’orez cessa
E saint Nicholas s’en ala.”⁴

¹ Hampson, *Medii aevi Kalendarium*. London, 1841, vol. i, p. 69.

² *A Slavonic Prologue*. St. Petersburg, 1817.

³ For other Slavonic texts translated from Greek, see Arch. Leonid., *Posmertnaya chudesa sv. Nikolaia, Pamiatniki Drevnei Pismennosti*, 1888, pp. 2 and 33 ; and my study, *Mikola the Divine (Ugodnik) and St. Nicolas*, in the *Memoirs of the Society of Modern Philology*, St. Petersburg, 1892, pp. 17 and 32. Compare *Assemani Kalendaria Ecclesiae Universae*, Romae, 1755, v, p. 420.

⁴ Maistre Wace's *St. Nicolas herausg. v. Dr. Delius*. Bonn, 1850, 250-260 ; compare 804-924.

A Serbian carol represents him in constant activity at sea. Once all the saints were enjoying wine together; when the cup out of which they all drank in turn reached St. Nicolas he was too sleepy to hold it, and let it drop. St. Elias shook him by the arm, and aroused him. "Oh! I beg the company's pardon", said St. Nicolas, "but I have been very busy, and was absent from your festival. The sea was rough, and I had to give my help to three hundred ships that were in danger; that is the reason of my being tired, and letting the cup fall out of my hands."¹

In Russia you will always find an "ikon" of St. Nicolas in every merchantman.² In Germany it was customary for sailors who had escaped shipwreck to dedicate a piece of old sail to St. Nicolas.³

In studying those Christian saints, who play a great part in the Christian mythology, the school of Grimm tried to find what heathen gods they replaced. In this way, St. Nicolas turns out to be a substitute of Neptune,⁴ or of Odin,⁵ or of Fro.⁶

Mr. Zingerle⁷ has lately proposed a new hypothesis. After drawing our attention to a number of analogies, known already to other investigators,⁸ between St. Nicolas and Nikuz, Hnikor, Nix, he differentiated Nikuz from Odin, and concluded that Nikuz is at the root of all representations that are connected with the name of St. Nicolas.⁹ "Even the names," says Mr. Zingerle, "are

¹ Karadjich, *Srpske Narodne pjesme*, ii, p. 100.

² Tereshchenko, *Byt russkago naroda*, vol. vi, p. 46.

³ Hampson, *l. c.*

⁴ B. Schmidt, *Volksleben der Neugriechen*, S. 37.

⁵ Simrock, *Handbuch der deutschen Mythologie*, Bonn, 1887, S. 446 and 549. E. H. Meyer, *Germanische Mythen*, Berlin, 1891, S. 257.

⁶ T. W. Wolf, *Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie*. Göttingen, 1882, S. 124.

⁷ *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, ii Band, 9 Heft.

⁸ Hampson, *l. c.*, vol. i, p. 68 ff.

⁹ Compare Simrock, *l. c.*: "Ob Odins Namen Hnikor und Nikuz

strikingly alike. But also the appearance of the saint has an analogy to that of the Waterman. The long grey beard is an attribute of the saint. We generally see Nix the Waterman also represented with a long beard."¹ I think it unnecessary to dwell on the superficial character of the analogy just quoted. All Eastern saints, if aged, are represented with beards, and the Byzantine images of St. Nicolas belonging to the fifth century² of course represent him with a beard, but generally a short round one. In this case why should St. Nicolas more than any other saint make us think of the Waterman?

The other argument brought forward by Mr. Zingerle is not of more value. "The souls of the drowned are kept by Nix in pots. When we remember," continues Mr. Zingerle, "that souls were generally represented in the shape of children, we find that the pots of the Waterman have an analogy to St. Nicolas' tub, containing three children."³

The picture of St. Nicolas standing near a large tub, with three youths in it, has its origin in the legend of a miracle, in which St. Nicolas raised from the dead three young men, who were killed and robbed by an innkeeper in Myra. Their bodies were cut to pieces and thrown into a tub. St. Nicolas prayed over the tub, and the youths came to life again. This story is found in almost all countries in the Middle Ages.⁴ It is undoubtedly of Greek origin, and taken from the saint's life.

It lies at the root of the saint's fame as a friend of

ihn als Wassergott bezeichnen ist zweifelhaft, doch würde sich daraus noch besser erklären, warum der h. Nicolaus auf einem Schimmel geritten kommt und als Patron der Schiffer gilt."

¹ Zingerle, *l. c.*, 11 Heft, S. 410.

² *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, XIII Jahrgang, iii Heft, S. 523; see Görres' article.

³ *Loc. cit.*, S. 412.

⁴ *Mikola Ugodnik and St. Nicolas*, p. 19. See also Hampson, *l. c.*, p. 77 ff.; Th. Wright, *Songs and Carols, etc., of the XVth Century*, Worton Club ed., London, 1856; and Zingerle's article, p. 332; Robert Wace's *St. Nicolas*.

children.¹ We may add that the fixing of St. Nicolas' Day on the 6th of December had a great influence in confirming this idea; December being, as pointed out by Prof. Vesselovsky, the special month of children's feasts.²

The representation of this miracle in an image or picture may, if we strain our imagination to the utmost, make us think of the Waterman with the souls of the drowned. But the resemblance is purely accidental. Moreover, this miracle is quite lost in the mass of the saint's other miracles, and has never, so far as I know, been chosen as the subject of a separate representation, but only has its place among a number of miniature pictures in a series forming one "ikon".

So far the resemblance between the names of Nikuz and St. Nicolas, and the marine activity of the saint, remain unexplained. To explain both we must make a detailed inquiry into the life and Lycian cult of St. Nicolas. There we may perhaps trace the relation between the Christian cult and some ancient Greek cult it has replaced. In the life of St. Nicolas we find two suggestions of ancient mythology. First, the festivals of the Rosalia (*dies Rosarum*) are mentioned: "When came the time of the Rosalia (τῶν Ῥοσσαλίων) St. Nicolas went to the metropolis";³ he therefore himself took part in the performance of a heathen rite. We must not be surprised to find a mention of the Rosalia in Lycia. The Rosalia were a Thracian spring-festival, imported thither, it is said, from Phrygia.⁴

Secondly, we hear of the strife between our saint and Artemis. It is written in the *Vita* that St. Nicolas de-

¹ See Hampson, *l. c.*, and Eug. Schnell, *Sanct Nicolaus der heilige Bischof und Kinderfreund, seine Fest und seine Gaben*. Brünn, 1885.

² "Opyty po istorii razvitiia khristianskoi legendy," *Jurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvieshchenia*, vol. 184, pp. 272-288.

³ *Trudy Kiefskoi Dukhovnoi Akademii*, 1873, xii.

⁴ Tomaschek, *Rosalia und Brumalia*, in the *Sitzungsberichte der K. Wiener Akademie*, Band 60, S. 352, etc.

molished the Temple of Artemis, and out of vengeance the goddess gave to pilgrims on the road to Myra some oil that was to burn the church of the saint. But the saint appeared to them when they were at sea, and commanded them to throw the oil overboard. They obeyed, and the oil burned on the surface of the water with an infernal flame.¹ In a Syriac text of the British Museum this Artemis is called Mater Deorum.² She evidently is not the Greek, but the Ephesian, Artemis; not a virgin like the former, but a symbol of motherhood, as is plainly shown by her being represented with many breasts.³ "The goddess of Ephesos is the goddess of fecundity, as her attributes indicate."⁴ She is thus related to the goddesses of Asia Minor, Cybele and Anaitis, who are also akin to the Greek Aphrodite. In the town of Perga, in Pamphilia, a coin was stamped with the representation of the Pergasian Artemis, very like the goddesses of Love and of Fecundity of Asia Minor.⁵

The cult of the Ephesian Artemis is at once Eastern and Greek; as lunar deities, Anaitis and Cybele were confounded with the Moon-goddess Artemis, who in her turn received from them qualities foreign to her original nature.⁶ Hence the difference between the Ephesian goddess and her Greek namesake. In Armenia there was a goddess called Artemis-Anaitis, and her cult had a purely bacchic character.⁷ From Cybele and Anaitis there is but one step

¹ Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, Series Graeca, t. 116; *Simeonis Metaphrastae opera*, p. 354; *Legenda Aurea Iacobi da Voragine*. Lipsiae, 1846, p. 24.

² Addit. Cat. of Syriac MSS., No. 14,645, printed in vol. viii of the *Memoirs* of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Archaeological Society of St. Petersburg.

³ O. Seyffert, *A Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*. London, 1891, p. 72.

⁴ Maury, *Histoire des religions de la Grèce, etc.*, t. iii, p. 155.

⁵ Texier, *L'Asie Mineure*, p. 599.

⁶ Guhl, *Ephesiaca*, Berlin, 1843, p. 119; and Maury, *l. c.*

⁷ Guhl, p. 168.

to the Mater Deorum ; indeed, Strabo made no difference between the Mater Deorum and Cybele.¹

The cult of all these divinities is concentrated in the south of Asia Minor. The Mater Deorum was a goddess of Phrygian origin.² Besides the Artemis of Perga, on the south coast of Asia Minor, several other like-named deities, reminding us in varying degrees of Ephesian Artemis, were worshipped³ in this district, where also many material remains of Cybele and Anaitis cults have been found.⁴

The close connection of these goddesses will be still more evident if we consider the manner in which the festivals in their honour were celebrated. At the festival of Artemis of Ephesos "representations of the goddess were borne in triumphal procession, and hymns in her praise were sung. Some of the people who took part in the procession were dressed in fantastic costumes . . . they indulged in ludicrous and indecent pantomime, much as is the case later in similar processions of the Middle Ages."⁵ This description recalls the processions in honour of the Mater Deorum.⁶ The Thracian festivals in honour of Dionysos and the festival of Roses (*dies Rosarum*, *Rosaria*, *Rosalia*) had the same bacchic character with orgiastic processions and dances.⁷ Flowers played a great part in all these festivals—wreaths and garlands, paths strewn with roses, representations of goddesses decked with flowers.⁸ Roses were essentially a Phrygian ornament ; the famous *Rosae centifoliae*, reputed to be Thracian, were correlated with the myth of Midas, in other words, with Phrygia.⁹ The geographical situation of Phrygia and Lycia favoured

¹ X, 15 ; quoted by Maury, *l. c.*, p. 80.

² Goehler, *De Matris Magnae apud Romanos cultu*, Lipsiae, 1886, p. 3. "Cybele erat summa Phrygum dea," Strabo, x.

³ Maury, *l. c.*, p. 164.

⁴ Texier, *l. c.*

⁵ Maury, *l. c.*, p. 158.

⁶ Réville, *La religion à Rome, etc.*, p. 63, etc.

⁷ Tomaschek, *l. c.*, S. 352.

⁸ *Ibid.*, S. 355.

⁹ *Ibid.*, S. 356.

frequent intercourse between them. Myra seems to have been the chief seaport of Phrygia.¹

We have thus succeeded in establishing some solidarity between three cults mentioned in our *Vita*: those of Artemis, of the Mater Deorum, and of the Rosalia. On all three festivals a gay and profligate crowd, with flower-adorned heads, whirls past in dance and pantomime to the sound of songs and flutes.

Concerning the dates of the festivities referred to, we cannot, unfortunately, come to such positive conclusions. The Artemision corresponds to the end of April or the beginning of May.² The date of the festival itself was probably subject to change, and it took place sometimes at the beginning, sometimes at the end, of that month. The date of the Rosalia and of the feast of the Mater Deorum varied still more. We can only assert that both were spring festivals, and may have been celebrated about the beginning of May.³

If we bear in mind that St. Nicolas' Day in the Eastern Church was the 9th of May as well as the 6th of December, we may find a new coincidence between Artemis and our saint. It is generally said that the 9th of May was honoured by the Church in remembrance of the removal of St. Nicolas' relics to Bary in the eleventh century,⁴ but the special circumstances of the origin of that feast are unknown, and, in spite of all that has been said, the most plausible hypothesis is perhaps that it was a continuation of the local spring festival in Myra, that is, the Rosalia.

Artemis of Ephesos, sharing the character both of the Greek virgin goddess and of Aphrodite, is partly a sea and a river goddess, whence her epithet, Potamia. Temples in her honour were often built near springs and rivers.⁵ This

¹ Migne, *l. c.*, vol. 116, p. 386.

² Seyffert, *l. c.*, p. 71; Guhl, *l. c.*

³ Tomaschek, *l. c.*; Goehler, *l. c.*

⁴ Shliapkin, *Russkoe Pouchenie xi vieka*, etc. Pam. rev. pism. 1881.

⁵ Guhl, *l. c.*, p. 85, etc.

supplies a new connection between her and St. Nicolas; both are not only spring, but also sea deities.¹

There is of course no external likeness between the beautiful Greek goddess and the grey-bearded saint, but many of their attributes are alike. Artemis-Cybele is often represented as a sea-monster, with the tail of a fish²; traces of a legend of St. Nicolas in Sicily seem to indicate a similar conception of him,³ and Sicily must be considered as the starting point from which this legend—of a probably Greek origin—began to spread. In France, “une bête terrible qui prend les petits pêcheurs, qui vont se promener sans permission au bord de l’eau à la nuit tombante, s’appelle St. Nicolas: elle est armée de griffes et déchire la figure des enfants attardés sur les grèves.”⁴

This description reminds us of a passage in Beowulf:

swylce on naesshleodum	nicras licgean
bâ on undern-mâel	oft bewitigað
sorh-fulne sîð	on segl-råde. ⁵

In Germany millers throw different things into the water on the 6th of December, St. Nicolas’ Day, as an offering to the water-deity.⁶ In Northern countries millers are par-

¹ On sea and spring cults of St. Nicolas, see *Mikola Ugodnik, etc.*, pp. 11-20, and 37-51; and Hampson, *l. c.*, pp. 67-72: “According to Hyginus, the privilege of preserving mariners from storm at sea was conferred upon Anaitis by Neptune, who was also one of the Cabiric deities, and whose festivals, the Neptunalia, were celebrated on the 5th, as that of St. Nicolas was on the 6th, December.” This coincidence of both feasts is less suggestive, because Neptune is not mentioned in the Life of the saint. Neither do we know anything about the cults of Neptune in Myra.

² Guhl, *ibid.*, p. 91.

³ “There is some ground to believe that an echo of the name- and sea-cult of St. Nicolas lives under the name of Nicolo-Pesce, hero of a Sicilian legend that has inspired Schiller with his *Der Taucher*,” says Prof. Vesselovsky, *Jurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvieshchenia*, vol. 168, 1890, p. 2. See also *Archivio per lo studio delle Tradizioni popolari*, viii, p. 3; and ix, p. 377, *Lu Piscicola e il Cola Pesce*.

⁴ *Revue des Traditions populaires*, i, p. 7.

⁵ *Beowulf*, 1428-1430.

⁶ Zingerle, *l. c.*, p. 416.

ticularly afraid of a certain deity, Neck.¹ Besides Nicor and Neck, who remind us of St. Nicolas as a sea-monster, the very name of Nicolas is used in a similar signification, but only in its diminutives. For instance, in Germany the sea-deity is sometimes called Nickel or Nickelmann,² and in England Old Nick is a familiar name of the Evil Spirit.³ The third diminutive of St. Nicolas, Klaus, is only found in the child-cult of our saint—"der böse Klaus."⁴

Artemis of Ephesos, as most sea-deities, is sometimes represented on horseback⁵; so is also sometimes St. Nicolas, he being a patron of horses.⁶

After all that has been said, we may, I think, draw the conclusion that the Christian cult of St. Nicolas has, as a whole, replaced that of Artemis of Ephesos. We must bear in mind that the position of the town of Myra as a sea-station between Antioch, Alexandria, and Jaffa from one side, and Constantinople and Italy from the other, was particularly favourable⁷ to a sea-cult.

In the description of sea-miracles ships are generally supposed to sail from Venice, Antioch, Alexandria, or Constantinople, laden with corn; they sail from east to west, passing Myra⁸ on the way. St. Paul was twice in Lycia, and on both occasions saw at Myra, or at Patara, ships

¹ E. H. Meyer, *Germanische Mythen*, Berlin, 1891, S. 131.

² Simrock, *l. c.*; and Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 1889, S. 733.

³ "Several appellations are proper names of men bestowed on the Evil Spirit such are the Engl. 'Old Davy', 'Old Nick' (Nicolas), though there may be also allusion to Hnikor." (Grimm's *Mythology*, Engl. ed., p. 1004.)

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 514.

⁵ "Diese Artemis Potamia war, wie alle Wassergottheiten, auch Rossegöttin." (Mueller, *Ant.*, § 363; Guhl, *ibid.*)

⁶ See Zingerle, *l. c.*, S. 411; and *Mikola Ugodnik, etc.*, pp. 39-40. I was told by Prof. Volodimirof of Kief that there is an image in the West of Russia representing St. Nicolas on horseback; but, personally, I have never seen such an image.

⁷ See *Mikola Ugodnik, etc.*, p. 14.

⁸ See my Syriac legend, quoted above, and Wace's *St. Nicolas; Legenda Aurea*, p. 24, and other sea miracles quoted above.

laden with corn for Italy or Antioch.¹ A glance at the map explains at once how easily Myra became an important shipping centre. In more recent times—for instance, during the Crusades—Myra had probably not yet entirely lost this position, for it is mentioned as a seaport on two occasions: in the twelfth century, when some merchants of Bari came to Myra and transferred to their own town the relics of the saint²; and in the twelfth century, when it is mentioned in the *Itinerarium* of the German Emperor, Frederick II.³

People not only came to Myra for business: we often read in his legend of pilgrimages made to the relics of the saint. For example, Wace says:

“ De meint leu e de meinte terre
Vindrent gent le cors saint requerre
E saint Nicolas depreier
E faire offrende a sun mustier.”⁴

I wish to show by these geographical notes that the cult of St. Nicolas, under these circumstances, could spread early and widely among sailors, not only in the East, but also in the West of Europe. The connection of St. Nicolas as a sea-patron having once sprung up, his miracles in that province are easily accounted for.

We may perhaps now succeed in explaining the likeness of names between St. Nicolas and Nikuz, Nicor, Nix. If in France St. Nicolas happens to have been a sea-monster, it is not unlikely that his name was also transferred to the sea- and water-deity of the Germans. We may then, perhaps, reverse Mr. Zingerle's hypothesis. St. Nicolas has not taken the place of the old god Nikuz, but the popular idea of St. Nicolas created the deity Nikuz in the same way that the Slavonian St. Vlassii (Blase) has perhaps helped

¹ The *Acts of the Apostles*, xxvii, 37.

² Shliapkin, *l. c.*

³ Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*, S. 102

⁴ Wace's *St. Nicolas*, 1080-1084; comp. 804-924.

to create the god Voloss,¹ or, as the same St. Nicolas is called by the Siberian idolaters, the Russian god Nicola.

Two very suggestive remarks were made to me² against the liberty I allowed myself to take with Mr. Zingerle's hypothesis. I was asked, in the first place, if the cult of St. Nicolas had spread wide enough in the eighth century, when we find the first mention of Nicor in the *Beowulf*, to become a mere common noun indicative of sea-monsters in general; and, secondly, if I could explain, etymologically, Nicolas = Nicor.

The first question slightly puzzles me. I know no written *Vita* of St. Nicolas earlier than the eighth century. My Syriac text dates from the ninth century,³ and, therefore, gives us ground for believing that its Greek original belongs to the eighth century; the panegyric of Methodius the Patriarch⁴ also refers to a *Vita* written in the eighth century; and in the Chronicle of Theophanes⁵ we find the description of a miracle of St. Nicolas during the reign of the Emperor Nicephorus I (802-811). A few miracles of St. Nicolas are also alluded to by Andreas Cretensis in the seventh century.⁶

But this date is, strictly speaking, the latest to which we have a right to refer St. Nicolas' *Vita* and sea-miracles, and the earliest documents we possess are his representations dating from the fifth century.⁷ If we look into the text of the Life for proofs of its antiquity we shall find many. In it there is mention of the last persecution of the Christians by Diocletian.⁸ A miracle is stated to have taken place in the reign of Constantine the Great,⁹ another

¹ Prof. Vesselovsky, *Solomon i Kitovras, etc.*, St. Ptbg., 1872, p. xiv.

² By Mr. Nutt, at the meeting of the Folk-lore Society of the 21st of February 1894. ³ See Add. Cat. of the British Museum, *l. c.*

⁴ Assemanus, *l. c.*, p. 420.

⁵ *Theophanis Chronographia*. Recensuit C. de Boor, Leipzig, 1883; see Nicolas, St. ⁶ Migne, *l. c.*, t. 97, p. 1191. ⁷ Görres, *l. c.*

⁸ *Simeonis Metaphrastae vita S. Nicolai*; see Migne, *l. c.*, pp. 334-335. ⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 338.

miracle speaks of the dominion of the Vandals in Africa,¹ and lastly, in a somewhat damaged text of a *Vita* different from that of Metaphrastes, we find unmistakable traces of the tradition of sacrificing oxen to St. George.² In general, we can hardly doubt that the cult of St. Nicolas is one of the oldest cults of Christianity; it therefore seems to me very probable that his name should have so spread at the time *Beowulf* was written³ (eighth to tenth century) as to become a common noun for a sea-monster. If we find Eastern coins and ornaments in Ireland and England,⁴ why should we not also find distant echoes of Eastern creeds?

The philological side of the question can hardly be considered difficult. We have already seen that the name of Nicolas in its nicknames still lives under the shape of Nickelman⁵ in Germany and Nick⁶ in England. The forms Nisse, Nissen, "must be explained", says Grimm, "from Niels, Nielsen, *i.e.*, Nicolaus, Niclas".⁷ From the root *niq*⁸ (= nick?) sprang all the other names of water-spirits—Mid. H. G. *nix* (niches); O. H. G. *nikhus*; A. S. *nicor*; O. Ic. *nykr*, etc.

There can be, therefore, only some doubt about the etymology of the presupposed roots, *nick* or *nik* or *niq*, themselves, which both Sanders⁹ and Dr. Skeat¹⁰ decline to give. Professor Earle says: "It (*nicor*) is a word of

¹ Assemanus, *l. c.*, p. 418.

² See *Mikola Ugodnik, etc.*, p. 5, etc.

³ Ten Brink, *Beowulf*, Strassburg, 1888, S. 246; and Prof. T. Earle, *The Deeds of Beowulf*, Oxford, 1892, pp. li-lij.

⁴ Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantenhandels*, 1879, i, S. 97.

⁵ Grimm's *Mythology*, p. 514.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 488.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 505.

⁸ Fr. Kluge, *An Etymological Dictionary of the German Language*, London, 1891, p. 253. Compare Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1882, S. 861.

⁹ *Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1861; see Neck: "Stamm fräglich."

¹⁰ *Etymological Dictionary*, Oxford, 1884, p. 392; see Nick: "Root unknown."

high antiquity, being found in all chief dialects";¹ but the repeated occurrence of the name in the whole of the Teutonic world can also be explained by the expansion of the Christian legend. Grimm derived the word from the root *nig* (Gr. *νίζω*)="to grow".² Dr. Kluge offers the form *niq* (Gr. *νίπτω*)="to wash oneself." "Thus," says he, "*Nix* would mean originally a sea-monster that delights in bathing, a sea-spirit."³ E. H. Meyer⁴ proposes the form *ur-germ. hneigjan*="to bend"; but in what way the notion of a sea-deity could develop itself out of the ideas of washing, or growing, or bending, is not explained by either of the investigators just quoted.

It is, then, most probable that St. Nicolas, represented by all his popular nicknames—Klaus, Nickel, Nielsen, and Nick—penetrated into the Teutonic mythology, and gave his own name to the water-deity, the sea-monster, and even the devil.

But the etymology of proper names is a difficult problem, and Kuhn himself seems to have sometimes failed to solve it.⁵

¹ *L. c.*, p. 158.

² *Wörterbuch*, S. 861.

³ *L. c.*

⁴ *Germ. Mythen.*, S. 105.

⁵ Gruppe, *Die griechischen Culte und Mythen in ihrer Beziehungen zu den orientalischen Religionen*, Leipzig, 1887, i, S. 103.

Professor Anichkof has not quite seized my point. I was struck by the fact that it is the final portion of the saint's name which has furnished the forms under which the name is now popularly known in the West (Klaus, Colas), for the assumption that the English Nick (in "Old Nick") is a shortened form of Nicolas is a purely question-begging one. Obviously, if this was the case formerly, Professor Anichkof's contention that the Germanic water-god derived his name (and part of his attributes?) from the Christian saint goes by the board. Klaus could not have furnished Nichus. What is the historico-philological evidence as to the spread of the Greek name in Western Europe, and what in especial is the historico-ecclesiastical evidence as to the spread of his cult? If he was popular enough in the 5th-8th centuries to rebaptise and transform a heathen water-deity—and Professor Anichkof's theory postulates this—there must be many other evidences of that popularity in the West.—A. N.

THE ROMAN VAN WALEWEIN (GAWAIN).

BY PROFESSOR W. P. KER.

The *Roman van Walewein*, ed. A. Jonckbloet, Leiden, 1846 (cf. Gaston Paris, *Hist. litt. de la France*, xxx), is the work of two authors, Penninc and Pieter Vostaert, the first of whom, at the beginning, seems to profess independence of a French original, while the second inconsistently refers to "the French book" (*die walsce tale*, l. 11,141) from which the story is taken. The date is undetermined; there may have been some interval between the first and the second author (Dr. Jan te Winkel, *Geschiedenis der nederlandsche Letterkunde*, i, p. 179). The manuscript (l. 11,201) is dated 1350.

The story (analysed by M. Gaston Paris, *l. c.*) is interesting as a rare example of an Arthurian romance which follows throughout, with little digression, though considerable redundancy, the lines of a popular story. In other romances there is plenty of matter analogous to that of the fairy tales; but it would be difficult to find another which corresponds so closely in its main plot from beginning to end with that of a common popular story. The story of "Walewein", told in 11,200 lines, is the story of Grimm's "Golden Bird" and Campbell's "Mac Iain Dirceach", a quest for one marvellous thing leading to the quest for another and another, till the series is wound up; with the Fox as travelling companion of the hero.

WALEWEIN.

At the court of Arthur there appears, one day, coming in by the window, a magical chessboard of gold and silver, ivory, and precious stones, which rests for a little and then flies away. Gawain sets out to follow the chessboard and bring it back to the king.

He goes on till he comes to a high mountain that seems to block his way, but it opens for him as he comes, and closes after him. Here, within the mountain, he has to fight with dragons (four young ones and their dam) before he can get to an opening on the other side. There he finds

himself high up on the cliff, above a raging river ; his good horse Gringalet carries him through.

Then he comes to the castle of King Wonder, the owner of the chessboard, who promises to give the chessboard if Gawain will bring him the *sword of the rings* from King Amoraen (or Amoris). The search for the sword is the next adventure. There are episodes on the way, of a common romantic kind (Gawain "does away an ill custom", and takes part in a tournament on behalf of a luckless man), but these things do not interfere with the principal story : they are accretions, not complications.

King Amoris has his castle in Ravensten, an island in the sea. He will give up the sword to Gawain, if Gawain will win for him the Princess of the Garden of India ; meanwhile he lends the sword to Gawain for the journey.

The sword is one that knows its master, and of itself makes obeisance to Gawain.

There is an episode of some importance before Gawain comes to the castle of King Assentin, father of the Princess Ysabele, and to the Garden of India where is the Fountain of Youth. He mortally wounds a felon Red Knight, who prays Gawain to give him Christian burial. It is the grateful ghost of this dead man who afterwards helps Gawain out of trouble.

The castle of King Assentin, like those of Wonder and of the Lord of Ravensten, has water about it ; but this is the burning water of Purgatory (*Vaghevier*, 5825), with the bridge of the sharp edge lying across it, and Gawain cannot get over. He comes to a pleasant garden close and lies down to rest. As he is asleep the master of the place comes home, the Fox Roges, a prince transformed by his wicked stepmother. The Fox explains to Gawain the nature of the river : it rises in Hell and falls into the *leversee* (5955), the dull water, where nothing moves. He shows Gawain the dingy birds that shoot into the river and come out white and clean (5840) ; they are the souls. Gawain is led by the Fox through a passage under the river into the castle. There

are twelve circles about the castle, and moats between the walls, but Gawain is not kept back, though it takes him some time to fight through the successive guards.

The princess recognises him as the knight that has appeared to her in a dream ; and Gawain, for the love of the princess, forgets his duty to the master of the sword, for whom he has undertaken the adventure. The knight and the princess are helped to escape by the ghost of the Red Knight, whose shrift was heard by Gawain, and the Fox comes with them. When they reach Ravensten they find that King Amoris (as M. Paris expresses it) "has had the good taste to die in the meantime". After some difficulties, including an unnecessary encounter with Sir Estor, the brother of Sir Lancelot, in the ordinary inconsiderate fashion of romances, they come to King Wonder, and there the conditions are fulfilled that restore the Fox to his proper shape. It is noted that there was a concomitant restoration of the stepmother, who had been changed into a toad by the sister of Roges.

So Gawain brings away the chessboard ; and he, and the Princess, and Roges, and Assentin the father of the Princess, and the King of "Hisike", father of Roges, are all together at a high festival in the court of Arthur. Pieter Vostaert would willingly tell of the wedding of Gawain, but it appears that the authority of "the French book" was wanting.

The common features of the story are the search for rare things, one after another, and one for the sake of the other, in a series ; with the help of the Fox.

In Walewein, the search is for the chessboard of King Wonder, the magic sword of King Amoris, and the Princess, the King's daughter of India. The Fox has no part in the first two adventures. In the third, the gratitude of the dead is brought in as a miraculous agency : the incident does not appear in the simpler forms.

In Grimm's story the search is for the Golden Bird, the

Golden Horse, and the Princess of the Golden Castle, and the Fox is employed throughout.

Mac Iain Direach is sent to look for the blue Falcon, and is helped by the Fox. The giant who owns the Falcon offers to give it for the White Glaive of Light of the Big Women of Jura. The Big Women of Jura ask for the bay Filly of the King of Eirinn: the King of Eirinn sends Mac Iain Direach to bring him the daughter of the King of France as his bride. With the help of the Fox, Mac Iain Direach wins all for himself: the Falcon, the Sword, the Filly, and the King's daughter.

In another version, given by Campbell, i, p. 353, the Fox is brother of the Princess, as he is also in Grimm's story, and is restored at the end.

The comparative insignificance of the Fox in *Walewein* is easily explained by the discrepancy between the adventurer of fairy-tale, and the knight-errant of chivalrous romance. Gawain is more heavily armed; he has an inconvenient history of his own, a character to keep up; so also has Gringalet, his horse. The difficulty of turning a hero of fairy tales into a knight of romance is obvious wherever a comparison has to be made between the romances and the popular tales. What is remarkable about *Walewein* is that in spite of its length there is so little organic change in the simple economy of the *märchen*. The lines of the story are clear and well defined: the rules are observed, the unities of the fairy-tale, not those of the sophisticated romance of chivalry. Much is added, but what is added is not intruded; the additions can be taken away; there is very little distortion or vitiation of the system.

The story has some likeness to *la Mule sans Frein* (Méon, *Nouveau Recueil*, i; cf. G. Paris, *Romania*, xii), in which also the search for something mysterious leads Gawain the adventurer beyond the River of the Narrow Bridge. That strange story, with its wonderful description of the gladness brought by King Arthur's knight into the

waste city, and the "carols" in the streets, is associated with the story of a similar deliverance wrought by Lancelot beyond the Perilous Bridges, in the Land of Gorre, as it is told by Crestien de Troyes in his poem of Lancelot (*Chevalier de la Charrette*, ll. 3515 *sq.*; cf. Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom*, p. 354).

Gawain in that story has to pass through several strange regions in the search for the magic Bridle. A forest full of wild beasts; a valley of fiery serpents and scorpions, and stink, and cold wind; a flowery plain; and then the black river, with the sharp bridge;

"et si vos di, sanz nule fable,
que ce est li fluns un déable";

then the whirling castle.¹

In *Walewein*, while the entrance into the Land of the Dead is plainly indicated, by the description of the waters of Purgatory running in front of the castle of the third adventure, the earlier adventures imply, with more ambiguity, that the common world is left behind when Gawain enters into the mountain, and finds himself, after the fight with the dragons, on the brink of a river which he has to cross in order to win the magical thing he is looking for. The second castle, with the sword in it, is an island; though the water crossed by Gawain (at low tide) is somewhat tamer than the sounds that Mac Iain Direach had to cross in his search for the Glaive of Light.

On the return, in *Walewein*, there is no borderland to be passed over; the way back is open, and the way through the mountain into the common world is not mentioned again. Is the passage under the water a prosaic invention of the Dutch romancer, or his original "French book"? Or is it

¹ It is worth noting that, besides the *ordeal of beheading*, common to this story with the English poem of Gawain and the Green Knight, and with the Irish story of the *Feast of Bricriu* (M. Gaston Paris, *loc. cit.*), the *whirling castle* is also common to this and to the Irish story (cf. Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, Appendix, p. 392).

a prosaic adaptation of the *pont evage*, the underwater bridge, that is known to Crestien in the *Chevalier de la Charrette*? Crestien himself seems hardly to have understood the fashion of this bridge, and makes little more of it than the "Irish bridge" of the popular gibe; *i.e.*, a ford in deep water. Whereas, to rival the terrors of the Bridge of the Sword, it must have been originally a bridge through, and in, and made of, the water itself, a tunnel of water through the water, to which the adventurer had to commit himself.

In the second Gaelic version the Princess is the Sun Goddess (or Sunbeam? Campbell, ii, p. 357 *n.*), daughter of the King of the Gathering of Fionn. This would seem to connect the story with the myth of the quest for the Sunbright unknown maiden, oversea—the story of Frey and Gerd; of the Danish ballad of Child Svendal, as of its original the *Fiölsvinnsmál*; of Alfhild in Saxo (cf. Rydberg, *Teutonic Mythology*, p. 113); of Orendel and Bride, in the middle High-German poem; of Conall Gulban and his search for "Breast o' Light"; and of the King's Son of Ireland and the daughter of the King with the Red Cap, in Macdougall's *Tales (Celtic Tradition, iii, p. 145)*. It is the same story that recurs again in *Walewein*: the princess recognises Gawain, as Svipdag is recognised by Menglad. Even if the story of the various minor quests, for the chessboard, or the blue bird, or the sword of light, have no necessary connexion with the myths of Alfhild or Menglad, which is the myth of Berecynthia (Hjalmar Falk, *Martianus Capella og den nordiske Mytologi*, Aarbog for nord. Oldkyndighed, 1891), it was inevitable that the popular story of these adventures should come, in some of its aberrations, within the orbit of the oldest romance and most famous quest in the world—the story of the Princess at the World's End.

Perhaps the most interesting thing in *Walewein* is the proof it affords that it was possible to transpose a story of this sort into the form of a long romance, without essential

alteration in the general scheme. Even in the shorter French tales, such as those of Marie de France, it would be hard to find as close an observance of the proportions of a common "fairy-story" as is to be found in the construction of the romance of *Walewein*.

I take advantage of the blank page to add a few notes to Prof. Ker's interesting paper. In Prof. G. Stephens' monograph on the "grateful dead" incident (Sir Amadace, Cheapinghaven, 1860), the oldest example he cites is a middle thirteenth century Swedish translation of a French legend, the hero of which is Pippin. If, as may be reasonably assumed, the "Walewein" represents a French original of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, the present example is as old, and may be older. Moreover, it is here connected with a "task" story, as is the case with most of the examples of the theme collected in the British Isles.

The stepmother transformation (p. 123) is an interesting instance of the counterspell so characteristic of the Celtic folk-tale. As a rule, the "villain" is transformed at the end as a punishment.

Prof. Ker's remarks on the *rôle* of the hero in folk-tales and in romance are weighty. They afford another argument in favour of the contention: "the folk-tale underlies the romance, the romance does not originate the folk-tale".—A. N.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 21st, 1894.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. G. Laurence Gomme, F.S.A.), in the chair.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following announcements were made :—

Deaths : Mr. A. Rae Banks and Mr. C. Walton. *Resignations* : Messrs. J. J. Foster and J. R. Hope, Mrs. Dent and Professor Tcheraz. *New Members* : Messrs. A. Pulling, W. Larminie, O. Elton, R. F. Yeo, and W. Ballantyne, Messrs. Kegan Paul & Co., Miss L. Kennedy, and Miss Dawson Dooley.

The following books were laid on the table, viz. :—"The Dictionary of Folk-Lore," vol. i, Part I, by Mrs. Gomme, presented by the President. "West Irish Folk-Tales," by Mr. W. Larminie, presented by Mr. E. S. Hartland; and five pamphlets, entitled "Folk-Lore Topics," by Mr. F. Sessions, presented by the Author.

On the motion of Mr. Jacobs, seconded by Mr. Clodd, it was resolved that the hearty congratulations of the Society be offered to the President and Mrs. Gomme on the appearance of the first volume of their work.

The President briefly returned thanks.

Mr. Naaké read a paper on "Polish and Servian Demonology as exemplified in their Folk-Tales," and a discussion followed, in which the President and Messrs. Clodd, Jacobs, and Nutt, and the Rev. A. Löwy took part.

Mr. Jacobs afterwards read his paper, entitled "The Problem of Diffusion—a series of rejoinders" (*infra*, p. 129), and in the discussion which followed, the President and Messrs. Nutt and Raynbird took part.

THE PROBLEM OF DIFFUSION:

REJOINDERS.

BY MR. JOSEPH JACOBS, B.A.

Members of the Folk-lore Society will probably be surprised at finding me still alive—as a folk-lorist. The last number of FOLK-LORE which appeared while I had the honour of editing it, contained two assaults upon me by such eminent authorities as Mr. Andrew Lang and Mr. Alfred Nutt; while, unless I am much mistaken, there was a somewhat petulant passage in the President's annual speech relating to fairy tales that was directed to my address. With regard to the two former gentlemen, I might perhaps manage by a little adroit dodging to cause their blows to fall reciprocally on one another; for while Mr. Lang was explaining how he had really always agreed with me on the transmission of fairy tales, Mr. Nutt was violently assaulting the conclusions I drew from such transmission. Still, as I should by that means lose the fun of the fight myself, I prefer to continue the contest, and in the course of it cannot perhaps do better than pursue the good old English plan, "One down—if I can get him down—the other come on."

This is the fifth round—I mean act—in my discussion with Mr. Lang. At the International Folk-lore Congress I ventured to oppose as strenuously as I could what I termed the "Casual Theory" of explanation for the remarkable similarities of plot and incident in many, though by no means all, European folk-tales. I pointed out the immense improbability of the casual coincidence of elaborate plots and the same sequence of incidents occurring in widely scattered localities by chance. At the same time I suggested that the research after survivals in folk-tales, which seemed to be the sole point of interest in their study for Mr. Lang and for Mr. Hartland, whom I coupled with him, was misleading and beside the mark in the study of folk-tales, since until you knew where a folk-tale had originated

you could draw no conclusion from the survivals found in it with regard to the place where it was collected. The last count of my indictment was that folk-tales were folk-literature, and required to be studied by literary and not by anthropological methods.

Mr. Lang did me the honour of replying to these contentions in his preface to Miss Roalfe Cox's admirable volume of variants of *Cinderella*. He pointed out that he had not unreservedly denied the possibility of transmission as the cause of similarity in folk-tales, and he was fully aware of their charm and literary attraction. To this I replied in the September number of FOLK-LORE of last year: that if I had been mistaken in dubbing him Casualist I had erred in company with almost all folk-lorists who had discussed his views, and I mentioned the names of MM. Cosquin, Bédier, Sudre, Krohn. As regards the literary aspects of the folk-tale, I pointed out that it was not a question of appreciation of their literary charm, but of their recognition as products of artistic imagination subject to the laws of imaginative production; it was these laws that had to be investigated rather than the survivals of savage culture which could here and there be discerned in the unnatural incidents in folk-tales.

The curtain rises on the fourth act, and discovers Mr. Lang, not in the most placid of his moods, in the December number of FOLK-LORE. He gives us an interesting account of the rise and progress of his interest in folk-tales, he reiterates his contention that he has always been burning with secret love for the Transmission Theory, and he points to passages in which he had let drop hints of his deep-seated affection. He suggested that I had made a blunder in including M. Bédier in the list of those who had mistaken him for a casualist; he pointed out his priority over Mr. J. H. Farrer, whom I had associated with him as having recognised the savage element in folk-tales. He then proceeded to discuss certain views I had enunciated with regard to *Cinderella*: these I propose considering in

connection with the criticisms of Mr. Nutt on the same subject.

I do not think that my part in the fifth act, at which we have now arrived, need be a long one, since the issues have gradually narrowed themselves to personal ones, which are always difficult and dangerous to handle. Let me at once dismiss a couple of these about which I myself was at least partly in the wrong. In referring to M. Bédier, I called him a Casualist, and spoke of him as referring to Mr. Lang as his master. Both these statements taken by themselves are, I still contend, strictly accurate. The whole tendency of M. Bédier's book is casualistic, and as in his account of the Anthropological School, so ably headed by Dr. Tylor and Mr. Lang, M. Bédier writes in full sympathy, it is not stretching a point to speak of Mr. Lang as his master in this regard. But it was misleading to couple the two statements so closely as to leave the impression that M. Bédier was adopting Mr. Lang's views as to transmission, for, inconsistently enough, the French savant, while contending that the similarities between the Fabliaux and certain Indian folk-tales were entirely casual, rebukes Mr. Lang, as Mr. Lang himself points out, for being a casualist. I would, however, point out that this error of mine had no misleading effect; for I was simply quoting M. Bédier as one of those who regarded Mr. Lang as a casualist. That point was merely strengthened when it is shown that he even rebukes his master for his casualism.

Then with regard to Mr. Farrer, whom I had mentioned as having pointed to the savage element in folk-tales, as I thought, previously to Mr. Lang, though I was far from suggesting that Mr. Lang owed anything to Mr. Farrer in this regard. In his reply, our late President referred me to an article he had written so long ago as May 1873 in *The Fortnightly Review*, in which he had laid stress upon this side of folk-lore research. It is doubtless a grievous sin to confess that I had never read this article of

Mr. Lang's, which he has never reprinted ; but having now seen it I willingly concede the claims of priority on Mr. Lang's part with regard to this matter. I trust he will manage to make that article, which I venture to regard as an epoch-making one, in some form more accessible to students of folk-lore. We really cannot be expected to follow Mr. Lang through all the periodicals of the English-speaking world. At the same time, from the cordial tone in which Mr. Lang refers to Mr. Farrer's independent researches, I am glad to observe he agrees with me in regretting the undeserved oblivion into which they have fallen.

For the rest there is little to add on my part to Mr. Lang's interesting autobiography of his gradual conversion to the Transmission Theory of the resemblance in folk-tales. I am too delighted with the adherence of such a great authority to the position which I have for some time contended, to quarrel with the terms in which that adherence is expressed. I venture to think he has wasted a certain amount of indignation upon those of us who have been careless enough not to notice this gradual conversion. No doubt he was right to dissemble his love for the Transmission Theory, but why does he kick us downstairs? When Mr. Lang, *e.g.*, writes in *Custom and Myth* (p. 24), "The slow filtration of tales is not absolutely out of the question", we who hold that filtration of tales is almost the sole source of their resemblance, can surely be excused for regarding him rather as an opponent than an adherent of our views. Again, Mr. Lang writes in his admirable and remarkable Introduction to Mrs. Hunt's translation of Grimm (p. xiv): "Allied to the theory of borrowing, but not manifestly absurd, is the theory of slow transmission." I think MM. Bédier, Cosquin, Gaidoz, and Krohn were a little to be forgiven if, reading such a sentence as that, they did not hold Mr. Lang to be an advocate of the theory of slow transmission. But, as I pointed out before, it is not so much his *obiter dicta* on the subject which caused us to think of

Mr. Lang as a casualist pure and simple. We judged him, I imagine, by his acts. Finding him, in his specific treatment of definite tales, paralleling each incident of the tale with a hodge-podge of more or less similar incidents torn from their context in other tales, we could not but regard him as explaining these incidents as he had in so many cases admirably explained isolated customs and myths. Even when, in the case of *Puss in Boots*, Mr. Lang, as he now informs us, suggested a definite origin for the tale in Arabia, we considered this as only his fun. I, for one, thought he was merely attempting to reduce the theory of transmission to an absurdity. Such are the rewards of writing wittily.

Nor am I sure that Mr. Lang is yet disabused as to the *portée* of his procedure. He says: "I do believe that many details of story have been, or may have been, independently invented." Plots, he now allows, if similar, must have been transmitted, but details he still thinks may have been independently invented. Does he mean that similar details in similar plots have been independently invented? I cannot imagine Mr. Lang would hold such a curious position; for it is just the similarity of details which renders it almost impossible that *Cinderella*, *e.g.*, can have been independently invented in two different places with the *mutilated foot* incident.

Such a remark, however, as that of Mr. Lang's, shows clearly to my mind that he has not thought out the details of the problem of diffusion; he has not, as the Germans say, "made earnest with it", and it was there that my opportunity came in. *Non omnes omnia possumus*. And Mr. Lang must be contented with having solved only two out of the three main problems of folk-lore research. And here, if the time had arrived when I could, like Mr. Lang, give an autobiography of my interest in the folk-tale, I should have to express my gratitude to Mr. Lang for having attracted me, as he has attracted almost all the readers of the English-speaking world, to an interest in this subject

by his brilliant, erudite, and suggestive disquisitions upon it.

I pass now from Mr. Lang to Mr. Nutt, from my friendly opponent to my opposing friend. Here the discussion deals with some remarks of mine about *Cinderella*, but it gradually extended to much wider issues. Mr. Nutt couples me with Mr. Newell, somewhat in the same fashion as I had coupled Mr. Lang and Mr. Hartland, and I am fitly punished for having set the example, for I have not hitherto laid down any general theory as to the origin and diffusion of folk-tales, whereas Mr. Newell has committed himself to a somewhat peculiar position on this point. In dealing with us together Mr. Nutt could not well avoid confusing the persons and confounding the issues. It so happens that in one of the results of our discussion on Miss Cox's volume, Mr. Newell and myself arrived at the same conclusion, but I fancy that it is by far different ways. Let me say at once that with regard to the origin of the unnatural incidents in folk-tales I am of the Anthropological School, a disciple of Dr. Tylor and Mr. Lang. That by itself differentiates me, I fancy, from the erudite Secretary of the American Folk-lore Society ; but while I grant that when these unnatural incidents were first used they reflected the savage culture and beliefs of the narrator, I cannot allow that they imply the same culture and beliefs whenever they are adopted as a convention of folk-telling, or are transmitted to fresh fields.

Mr. Nutt draws absolutely opposite conclusions from the existence of conventions of the folk-tale. "What is a convention?" he asks, and answers that it is a custom, mode of speech, or a turn of narration that is in full accord with the beliefs of author and audience. *Au contraire*, I would hold that convention was a dead mechanical form, the meaning of which is entirely absent in the minds of those using it. I may perhaps make my meaning clearer if I refer shortly to the special convention to which I was referring in my article on "Cinderella in Britain".

Analysing the ten various versions of *Cinderella* which have been discovered in these Isles, I found that they could be divided up into three different sections of incidents. The first set contained the archaic incidents of the *animal aid*, in one case of the *animal mother*; but this series of incidents is almost a tale by itself, a tale resembling that known in the collection of the brothers Grimm as "One eye, two eyes, and three eyes." Then come another series of incidents, the real *Cinderella* story with the *menial heroine* and the *shoe recognition*. Finally, in some of the Celtic variants, the tale was expanded by a number of incidents obviously derived from the Celtic story of the "Sea Maiden"; this, we could all agree, is a late and inartistic accretion.

Now I am of opinion that the first set of incidents was not originally a part of the tale of *Cinderella*, but was somewhat inartistically tacked on to it as a convention of the folk-tale; for it will be observed that in one of Chambers's variants this set of incidents is altogether omitted, and that in the other it is replaced by an entirely different set taken from the Catskin type of story. Now, if these incidents can be so easily removed or replaced, it shows, I think, that they are not a necessary and integral part of the story. This statement does not disagree, as Mr. Nutt seems to think it does, with my view that the folk-tale is a definite combination of incidents. The definite combination in the case of *Cinderella* consists of the following sequel of incidents:—Menial Heroine; Fairy Aid; Magic Dresses; Meeting-Place; Flight; Lost Shoe; Shoe Marriage Test; Mutilated Foot; False Bride; Bird Witness; Happy Marriage.

These are the essence of *Cinderella*; and when I speak of *Cinderella* I mean that particular sequel of incidents. I contend that that sequel must have at one time been hit upon by one definite folk-artist, and from him has spread throughout the Indo-European world, wherever that sequel of incidents is found. But early in the history of its diffu-

sion it must have been "contaminated" by the introduction of the series of incidents derived from the tale now represented by the Grimms' "One eye, two eyes, and three eyes"; in other words, at the time this happened, "One eye, two eyes, and three eyes" had become a convention of the folk-tale.

I will grant at once that it is possible that when "One eye, two eyes, and three eyes" was composed there was still surviving a belief in animal ancestry, but I see no reason for holding, as Mr. Nutt seems to hold, that this belief survived along with the story so long as it was told, which would imply that it survives in Germany in the present century; and still less do I believe that the belief survives in those countries where the story was introduced, because it might well be thought the story became popular, not because of the familiarity of the ideas contained in it, but rather because of their strangeness. Mr. Nutt thinks that he has made a point against me by stating my position in the following terms: "Fairy tales are not really old, but are stuffed full of imitations of old fairy tales which have disappeared," and he repeats the well-worn witticism about Shakespeare being written by another fellow of the same name, whereas a truer statement of my case would be that Shakespeare's words existed before his time, but not his works. If, however, he would only kindly add to his statement, "or have been imported from other countries," it would be a not infelicitous statement of part of my position; it does more, it leads up to another part of my views to which I would draw attention, I believe for the first time, and that is the theory of the "survival of the fittest" in folk-tales.

The rigid Anthropological School of folk-tale research have had the merit of drawing our attention to savage custom, as explaining the unnatural incidents of folk-tales. Mr. Farrer went somewhat further, and drew attention to savage fairy tales themselves. Since his time several sets of savage tales have been published, especially in FOLK-

LORE, by Professor Haddon, Mr. Abercromby, and Dr. Codrington. Those who have read these tales will agree with me, I think, that they are formless and void, and bear the same relation to good European fairy tales as the invertebrata do to the vertebrate kingdom in the animal world. Judging by them, at any rate, we should not be disposed to think that the majority of European folk-tales have descended unchanged from the time when the European world was savage. Yet when Europeans were savages they probably told fairy tales, and these were probably as amorphous as the fairy tales of Samoa or the Torres Straits.

One can therefore quite understand their disappearing when brought into competition with tales having a more definite backbone of plot. The human mind, and especially the uncultured mind, has limit to its capacity for remembering folk-tales. I am of opinion, from my own researches in folk-tale fauna of various districts of the British Isles, that one hundred tales is about as much as a peasant can remember.¹ If, therefore, at a stage subsequent to the primitive one, a number of tales having a definite plot are introduced into the country, a struggle for existence among the folk-tales would occur which would result in the almost total disappearance of the primitive stock. As a matter of history, we can actually watch a similar process going on in these Isles, where the superior artistry of Perrault's or Grimm's tales have caused almost the total disappearance of the original stock of English folk-tales, as I have found by sad experience.

This is what I believe has occurred in Europe, and I am supported in my belief by the remarkable similarity between the story-store of the various European countries. From the theory of transmission which I hold, this similarity can only be due to the migration of these tales from one country to another. Where these common

¹ A good Irish bard, however, was supposed to know one tale for each day of the year ; but he would be a specialist.

stories of Europe have widely-spread analogies in the Indian Peninsula, I am inclined to agree with M. Cosquin that they were introduced from India within historic times, and ousted the native stories by superior narrative force. By this means I am enabled to explain, on the anthropological method, the existence of unnatural incidents in these common stories; for almost all the savage ideas postulated by Mr. Lang to explain these incidents had existed in India throughout all time, up to and including the present day. At the same time, I should not deny that there may still be in existence a few primitive European stories which have escaped the struggle for existence with the Indian ones; nor should I deny the possibility that some of the common European stories have had their origin in Europe itself since primitive times. *Cinderella* appears to be one of these.

The series of incidents to which I have previously referred, as forming the true *Cinderella*, seem to me to have arisen in Europe during the feudal times, for the essence of the story involves monogamy, both in the choice of the hero and in the conception of the heroine as a step-daughter. The fact of the test implies this also, and the shoe involves a state of culture in which there was nothing like leather. The choice of a menial heroine by the high-placed prince involves also the conception of a social status quite alien to savage ideas. And here I must protest against the curious procedure on the part of Mr. Lang, who, in discussing this part of my argument, ventured not only to traverse my position, but also to correct my English. I had said that I doubted whether there was much "variation" of social position amongst savages, meaning, of course, that there was rarely, if ever, exogamy between the various sections or castes into which savage tribes are almost invariably divided. Mr. Lang calmly suggests that I had meant to say "variety" instead of "variation", and assumes me to deny the existence of sections or castes at all. I venture to think that this is a

method of controversy which should not be generally adopted, and I hasten at once to add that I feel sure that Mr. Lang would not have adopted it if he had understood my expression.

I return, however, to the introductory portion, which is now so frequently tacked on to the pure *Cinderella*. This, as I have said before, not only traces back its origin to primitive times, or, at least, primitive conceptions, but it must have been tacked on, I contend, when those conceptions had become conventional; nor does it at all follow that this part was tacked on to *Cinderella* in the place where that convention had originally grown up. For conventions may be transmitted as well as handed down, and therefore I say, that, where we find these conventions, we have no surety that the conceptions once existed out of which the convention has grown. Hence I still remain of my heresy, at which Mr. Nutt was so surprised, the archæological value of such traits is much reduced—and not enhanced—by such conventions.

Permit me to develop this position a little further, for it points to a fatal flaw in the anthropological method of folk-lore; it applies not alone to fairy tales, but to almost all branches of the subject. In saying this I do not speak as an opponent of that method, for, as a matter of fact, I have approached the whole subject from the anthropological side. I contributed to the *Journal* of the Anthropological Institute before ever I joined the Folk-lore Society. My contributions to the *Journal* were much more solid and elaborate in character than any I can ever hope to make to the pages of FOLK-LORE. But when I came to the study of folk-lore, under the guidance of our past and present Presidents, I found, underlying all their work, an assumption which did not seem to be justified by the evidence they adduced or at our disposal. The doctrine of "survivals" implies that they survive from a period of culture akin to that of the savage of to-day; but it seems to be implied that what has survived is not alone the sur-

vival, but the state of culture. Thus the distaste for horse-flesh in England is said to be a survival of the worship of Odin, to whom the horse was sacred, or even of an earlier stage when the horse was a totem. Hence there is a tendency to use such a survival as a proof of former existence in this country, either of the worship of Odin, or of the existence of a totemistic stage of society. But this leaves out of account the possibility—nay, the probability—that this and other survivals have been introduced into this country when they had already arrived at the stage of survivals. For surely it is of the essence of folk-lore custom that it is handed on without a consciousness of the original belief which gave rise to the custom. Thus, I throw salt over my left-shoulder if I am unlucky enough to spill it, without being in the slightest degree able to give a reason for my so doing; indeed, it is because I cannot give a reason that I do it, in so far as I am superstitious. Now that custom I have taken from my mother and my nurse, or my uncle, or my aunt, or from some foreigner with whom I have become intimate. What criterion have we to distinguish between what I would call *vertical*, in contradistinction to *lateral*, tradition? An Englishman of the Middle Ages sees his father and relatives performing this salt-throwing because they have seen their fathers do it: that is *vertical* tradition. But as we find this salt-throwing a custom throughout Europe, it must also at one time or another have been passed from one country to another, or from one district to another, by one or more persons in each case. When this was first adopted in any one district, not from parents or relatives, but from strangers who may have become relatives, that will be a case of *lateral* tradition. Now what criterion has been discovered to distinguish between vertical and lateral tradition? I can see none: and until some such criterion has been discovered I cannot see how we can use tradition for ethnological purposes. Thus I correlate my heresy with regard to the anthropological evidence to be derived from folk-tales,

with the same heresy applied to folk-custom, and I cannot therefore agree with Mr. Nutt, that either the survivals found in folk-tales or those found in custom can be used as evidence of the former existence of the beliefs on which those survivals are founded in the actual place where either tale or custom is now to be met with. Man has struggled upward from savagery, but by the struggle for existence among the survivals of savagery many of them have disappeared, to be replaced by others from alien sources: who shall say at this time of day which are native, which alien?

At this stage of the argument Mr. Nutt would "fain for the moment glance at universal history from the sole standpoint of our studies". However interesting this may be, I fear I cannot follow him in his *excursus*. Mr. Nutt has a passion for tracing things back to what the Germans call the "Cosmic Gas", the primeval chaos out of which the Universe has sprung. I admire his courage, but will not attempt to imitate it. I know that "Cosmic Gas" well: he comes from Berlin, and somewhat bores me. I prefer to keep with my foot on the solid ground of facts which I can control. Mr. Nutt illustrates this fundamental difference between our methods by a very pertinent example. In dealing with the existence of the legend of the "Pied Piper" in the Isle of Wight, as found in the work of Abraham Elder, written in 1870, Mr. Nutt complains that I do not go back further than Abraham Elder himself, or Verstigan, the source which he quotes. I do not go back further, because I have nothing further to go back upon. Mr. Nutt desires to see a little further through the brick wall, and he indulges in a number of hypotheses of why Abraham Elder quoted Verstegan, and whether he would have done so if he had not some germ of legend actually before him in oral tradition in the Isle of Wight. I prefer to stick to my Verstegan until we know something more about some traces of the tradition in the Isle of Wight itself. The proper scientific course would be to make

investigations *in loco*, and I remember asking Mr. Nutt to do so when he was in the Isle of Wight a couple of years ago, "instead of which", as the judge said, he prefers to give "a glance at universal history from the standpoint of our studies."

I am not concerned even with the universal history of the folk-tale in general. I desire to ascertain the history of certain specific folk-tales, especially of those which are common to several European countries, and I am glad to see that Mr. Abercromby, in the recently issued number of FOLK-LORE, recognises that this is the real issue; and in studying it I am willing to receive light from all sides. I am an eclectic, and so, it seems, manage to displease all sides. But the facts are complex, and are not likely to be explained by any one theory. Thus, when M. Cosquin proves that certain European tales, folk-tales, have come from India, I am ready to accept his position for those particular folk-tales, and for this, I see, I am called an Indiamaniac by Mr. Hartland, with more force than elegance. At any rate, I am not an India monomaniac, and I only believe in an Indian original for that third or half of a country's story-store which is common to the rest of Europe, and only when a story out of that fraction can be shown to be widely spread or to be very ancient in India. So my withers are quite unwrung when Mr. Hartland or Mr. Nutt point to any particular story, and ask for my proof that this comes from India. Hitherto we have been confining our attention too much to the similar stories of Europe; it is the dissimilar and unique stories that have no parallels as stories which should attract our attention, especially if we are on the search for survivals. I have myself treated of one such unique story in the case of *Childe Rowland*, and showed there, I hope, that I was no foe to the method of Survivals on appropriate occasions.

And now I think I have answered in principle most of the points in dispute between my opponents and myself, and may perhaps prevent further dispute as to my meaning

if I sum up in the form of theses the conclusions I have arrived at as the result of some five years' study of the folk-tale.

(1) The "unnatural incidents" in folk-tales often represent survivals of savage culture (Lang, Farrer).

(2) But unnatural incidents can become conventional, and used and imported without reference to their savage origin.

(3) Resemblance between folk-tales, extending beyond three or four linkages of incident, is due to transmission, not casual coincidence, however far distant the places of collection.

(4) When such resemblances exist between European folk-tales and those found widely spread, or anciently collected, in the Indian Peninsula, the probability of origin rests with India (Benfey, Cosquin). Such tales are rarely more than a third of the story-store of any one country, probably not a tenth of the whole of European folk-tales.¹

(5) Tales having foreign parallels to all or most of their incidents in the same plot, cannot be used as anthropological evidence, except for the country of their origin.

(6) Tales with definite plot, of complicated yet artistic form, are not primitive in origin.

(7) Tales of complicated plot, and more than three or four incidents, must have been thought out in the first instance by a definite folk-artist.

(8) Tales struggle for existence in the folk-mind, and the more artistic oust the less and survive.

These seem to be the inductions to which we are led by a survey of the actual contents of the folk-tales of the Indo-European world, without prejudice to any theories as to what lies behind those facts derived from any universal history of mankind.

Lastly I come, for a particular reason, to our President's

¹ I made this estimate so long ago as 1888 in my edition of *The Fables of Bidpai*, p. xxxiv.

reference to my fairy-tale books in his Annual Address. He first brings against me the charge of having "maimed, altered, and distorted" my originals, a charge which, I observe, is reiterated by Mr. Hartland in the not over-kindly review of my latest book in the number of FOLK-LORE just issued. I am glad to find that my critics read my prefaces with such reverent attention, for they cannot have derived their impression from any direct comparison of the tales which appear in my book with their originals. I have gone into the matter with my two volumes of English tales, and find that one-third of them are absolutely unchanged, *verbatim et literatim* with my originals, and this applies in nearly every case to the few I have collected from friends or correspondents, whose MSS. have gone untouched to the printers. Half of the stories have merely been altered in language, mostly by turning the Latinisms of the collectors into the simpler Saxon of the folk. Only in the case of some sixth of the stories have there been any considerable alterations, all of which are mentioned in the notes. So that there has been not so much "maiming and distorting" after all, and for what there is I can quote the great authority of the Grimms. Mr. Hartland challenges me, I see, to quote my authority for this, which shows that, however diligently he may read my prefaces, he does not remember them, for I gave the passage to which I refer in the original German in a note to the preface of my first volume. I may repeat it here in an English version. "It will of course be understood", say the brothers Grimm in the preface to their tales, "that the language and the details have been for the most part supplied by us." Why does not Mr. Gomme protest against the distortion and maiming as practised by the Grimms?

But I am more concerned with the reason our President gives for his protest: it is because these wicked practices of the Grimms and myself will prevent the folk-tale from receiving "all the credit it really deserves as an element

of the anthropology of civilised races". Ay, there's the rub. Our President is interested in the folk-tale because of the information he can extract from it as to man's primitive customs, institutions, and beliefs. Similarly, Mr. Hartland, in his Chairman's Address at the Congress, confessed that his chief interest in folk-lore in general, and folk-tales in particular, was on account of the information they contained as to the beliefs of our ancestors. Exactly so. These gentlemen, as I have put it previously, are fortune-hunters, who seek to get as much anthropological wealth out of the folk-tale as they can; I and a few others love her for herself alone. And out of this love springs my protest against their use as *corpora vilia* for the anthropologist, and generally I protest against the practice of regarding folk-lore as solely so much material for anthropology, so much contribution to the study of institutions and their evolution.

What has attracted some of us to the study of folk-lore has been of a two-fold character. In the first place, it is the last corner of knowledge which still remains comparatively unexplored, and so offers most promise of prizes to the successful investigator. There has been the hope that by going back to our nurse's or our mother's knee we may find the secret of human destinies. But above and beyond this folk-lore appeals to all that which goes to make romance: the myth, the saga, the legend, combine with the mysterious lore of the unseen which lies at the root of what we term superstition. This is the part of folk-lore which attracts me, and, I fancy, the majority of the members of the Folk-lore Society. The institutional side of the study leaves us cold, and we cannot get up much enthusiasm for those primitive county councils known as folk-moots.

I claim to be an anthropologist also. But my anthropology includes likewise the study of the evolution of man's artistic nature. I would study Man the poet and the dreamer, as well as the man of the flint chip or the

folk-moot. The corroboree and the mumming-play have grown into the dramas of Æschylus and of Shakespeare; the nursery-rhyme and the folk-song have developed into the lyrics of Sappho and of Shelley; the folk-tale and the droll have given rise to Walter Scott and Charles Dickens. The early stages of these processes in the evolution of man are no less part of anthropology, they are more part of folk-lore, than the study of the evolution of the folk-moot into the County Council, or of the totem-clan into the State.

[Apart from secondary questions, there are but two main points of difference between Mr. Jacobs and myself, one general and one special. The general one involves the question of, to use Mr. Jacobs' very happy phrase, lateral *versus* vertical influence in the transmission and diffusion of folk-lore. I do not think the difference is very great, but difference there is. I am inclined to lay more stress upon vertical influence, although I do not in the slightest degree deny the fact of lateral influence. It is upon the latter that Mr. Jacobs lays most stress, indeed, one might gather from his words that he minimises vertical influence more than I believe he really does—it is the misfortune of polemical exposition that it commonly leads to over-accentuation of particular aspects of truth. But I try and justify my belief in the importance of vertical influence by an appeal to the only available evidence, that of history, a proceeding which, to my wonder, excites the merriment of the philosophic student of history Mr. Jacobs' friends know him to be. Where can a criterion be found? he despairingly cries; and when I humbly try to furnish one he would fain laugh it out of court.

Doubtless some imperfection in the presentment of my argument obscured its real import for him. Let me briefly restate it. The folk-culture of modern Europe is, so far as I can read the facts of history, uninterruptedly connected

with the folk-culture and the higher culture of ancient Europe ; the general culture of the former differs from that of the latter, chiefly owing to the intrusion of an alien, non-European element, Christianity, which was from the outset and has, persistently, been hostile to the beliefs and conceptions of that culture, but which, as manifestly exhibited by unimpeachable evidence, was compelled to compromise with it in many and far-reaching ways. The ancient European, whether priest or peasant, had certain beliefs manifested in certain rites ; the modern European priest has entirely different beliefs and rites, but the modern European peasant has beliefs and rites which are patently affiliated to those of antiquity. Vertical influence I would urge. Again, the ancient European poet and peasant had a common store of mythic and heroic fancies upon which they drew for recreation and edification ; the modern European culture-poet seeks, for the most part, other sources of inspiration, or, if he apply to antique legend, he does so in an entirely different spirit from that of antiquity, but the peasant poet still deals in material much of which is manifestly affiliated to that of pre-Christian Europe. Vertical influence I would urge. I assert nothing, the subject does not lend itself to dogmatic assertion, but I hold it at once more consonant with scientific method and with common-sense to look in the first place to *development* for an explanation of the phenomena of European folk-lore. In this connection I gladly hail Mr. Jacobs' doctrine of the survival of the fittest in the domain of folk-fancy, but it leads me to other conclusions than those to which, apparently, it leads him. Marking the fact that, with the single exception of some of the Jewish chroniclers, all the greatest story-tellers of the world have been men of European birth, I think it as likely that the many tales found chiefly in Europe, and the origin of which is in dispute, should have been evolved *in situ*, as that they should be imported from the outside. I admit fully that each case (and this applies to the items of custom as well

as those of folk-fancy) requires separate investigation, but I do not start with a prejudice against European origin. I will not assert that Mr. Jacobs really has any such prejudice, but he sometimes writes as if he had—a matter of loyalty, I fancy, to allies who, in this respect, are more dogmatic and less scientific than he is.

The bearing of recent speculation respecting the original home of the Aryans upon this question seems hardly to have been duly appreciated. When M. Cosquin, arguing against the Aryan mythology detritus theory of folk-tales, asked if the Aryans had brought sets of the *Bibliothèque bleue* with them from the slopes of the Hindoo Koosh, the gibe was a shrewd one, and it told ; but it loses point if the Aryans have always been in Europe. The burden of proof is now thrown upon the advocates of external influence.

I will now turn from the general to the special ground of difference between Mr. Jacobs and myself, from the origin and development of European folk-lore at large to the origin and development of the Cinderella story group in particular. To come at once to close quarters, I will, for argument's sake, accept Mr. Jacobs's summary of the *ur*-Cinderella, contenting myself with italicising the incident—*fairy aid*. To my mind the inclusion of this incident gives away his entire case. Two theories are in presence: the one, let us call it the upward-evolution theory, urges that the rude archaic form of the supernatural aid given to the heroine—dead mother re-incarnated in an animal—put off its primitive rudeness and assumed the, comparatively, more civilised form of the fairy godmother; the other, the downward-evolution theory, claims that within the last two centuries the fairy godmother has been turned into an animal mother, owing to the intrusion of another story type according to Mr. Jacobs, or to the archaicising instinct of the folk according to Prof. Newell. The probability of the first theory is, I should have said, as one hundred to one. Out of defer-

ence to Mr. Jacobs and Professor Newell I will put the ratio as fifty to one, but I fear that in so doing I am allowing private considerations to unwarrantably influence my scientific judgment.

In the *Journal of American Folk-lore* for January-March Professor Newell has sketched the development of the story group in accordance with the theory previously adumbrated by him. For him Cinderella starts with Basile in the middle of the seventeenth century. It is well to have the theory stated so definitely and so boldly. I can only repeat that although it undoubtedly solves some of the perplexing elements in the Cinderella problem (*supra*, IV, p. 140, *note*), the theory is, as a whole, utterly incredible to me.—A. N.]

REVIEWS.

G. PITRÉ, *Bibliografia delle Tradizioni popolari d'Italia*.
Palermo, 1894.

CAVALIERE PITRÉ has at last finished the elaborate bibliography of Italian folk-lore, of which Miss Busk gave a preliminary description in FOLK-LORE, ii.

In the double-columned large octavo volume of six hundred pages Signor Pitré has given a full bibliographical description of over six thousand items relating to all branches of Italian folk-lore, of which he himself has been by far the greatest master. One cannot help thinking that the incitement to the compilation of this magnificent volume came from the example given by Mr. Gomme, by his compilation in the early volumes of the *Folk-lore Journal*; for the bibliographical information given seems to have been drawn up on very much the same lines as those adopted by Mr. Gomme. It is greatly to be regretted that our Society has allowed the initiative in this regard to have fallen away from its own hands. It is clear that a classified bibliography of this kind is the next step to be taken in the institution of Folk-lore as a science. The French Societies are already taking steps to carry out a plan similar to that of Signor Pitré's, and I should be much surprised if the American Folk-lore Society does not soon produce something on the same lines: for, next to the Germans, the Americans have grown to be the greatest bibliographers of the world. With this division of labour it ought not to be impossible for the whole European and American literature of folk-lore to be bibliographised within the next ten years; and it is obvious from these hints that the lines on which it will be done will be set by

the masterly example afforded by Signor Pitré in this volume. Our Society must not look behind in so important a work. The bibliography of English folk-lore ought to be its next great undertaking, and it ought not to be difficult, I should imagine, to combine with it the present stage of the collection of County Folk-lore.

The work of Signor Pitré is thus seen to be of epoch-making importance in the organisation of our science.

It may be as well if I devote this notice to a tolerably full description of the plan on which the Cavaliere has worked.

It is obviously impossible for the Englishman to criticise, in any adequate sense of the word, the bibliography of Italian folk-lore, but I may possibly have something useful to observe on the plan and arrangement of the work.

The method adopted is that of six alphabets of authors' names, supplemented by one alphabet of names, another of localities, and a third of subjects. The various sections are: I. Folk-Tales; II. Folk-Songs; III. Children's Games and Rhymes; IV. Riddles and Popular Cries; v. Proverbs; VI. Customs and Superstitions; VII. Miscellaneous.

I think it likely that any future attempt on similar lines would still further split up Section VI, which is by far the most elaborate of the Italian *savant's* collections.

Probably the divisions adopted in the *Handbook of Folk-lore*, into Festival, Ceremonial, and Local Customs; Witchcraft and Goblin-dom; Tree, Plant, and Animal Superstitions; Folk-Medicine and Magic, would have made this part of Pitré's work more handy for use; but it is by far the most difficult section both to collect and to arrange, and possibly our author has already rejected the suggestion I make here.

Turning to the first section, it is obvious that Italy, the home of Straparola, Basile, and Boccaccio, would afford a rich crop of materials. In all, some twelve hundred items are devoted to this subject, though these numbers include the reprints and new editions of standard works

like Straparola, who takes up nearly fifty items by himself. It would have been advisable, I should say, to have summarised this information in bibliographical notes and lists at the end of the transcription of the first edition; but, as Cavaliere Pitré observes in his Preface, Italy has no Kayser or even Brunet, and many of these entries doubtless give exact bibliographical details for the first time. Our author is careful to mark with an asterisk those entries which have not passed through his own hands. We are thus able to understand how he could have included Mr. Andrews' *Ananci Stories from Antigua* in his list. Ananci stories, of course, relate to the Fairy Spider of the negroes, and have nothing to do with Italy. I am surprised to find that Cavaliere Pitré has not included Doni's version of the Fables of Bidpai in his list: *La Morale Philosophia de Doni* is an important link in the spread of these Fables, being, for example, the original source from which Sir Thomas North translated them for the first time into English. Similarly, I notice the absence in this section of any account of the many Italian versions of the "Barlaam Josaphat Legends". Both these items come home to my own business and bosom, and it is doubtless only owing to this that I am able to point to any lacunæ in Pitré's collections.

The second section, on Folk-Songs, is even richer than the preceding, running to some twelve hundred and fifty numbers. In both sections, Pitré himself is the largest individual contributor. The next two sections, "Games and Riddles," need not detain us long; though the reference to Ploss's *Das Kind* in the former section, and to Mr. Newell in the latter, would have been helpful, as both writers deal, at any rate incidentally, with Italy. Pitré has devoted considerable and minute attention to the bibliography of Italian Proverbs, which fills up nearly as much space as Tales and Songs, over eleven hundred items being devoted to this subject, in which, perhaps,

more has been collected and less has been done than in any division of our science.

Finally, we come to the sixth section, on Customs and Superstitions, which fills no less than two thousand seven hundred items. As I hinted before, this is the most masterly part of the volume. Professor Pitré has gone through almost all the travellers' books on Italy, he has ransacked the periodicals of the Peninsula, and the characteristic thing about his sections is that so many of the items seem, at first sight, as though they had nothing to do with Folk-lore—and, indeed, Pitré gives a somewhat wider extension to the term than we are accustomed to do in this country.

Works on costume and domestic utensils are included in his all-embracing survey of the Italian Folk. I have failed to notice, however, one topic for which Italy, I feel sure, affords more ample material than any other European country: the gesture-language of the folk is quite an art by itself in Italy, and, if I am not mistaken, there appeared at least one text-book on the art in the seventeenth century, with designs showing the meaning of various folk-gestures. It is, however, possible that I have missed the reference.

Cavaliere Pitré has crowned his life-work with this magnificent bibliographical summary of Italian Folk-lore—" *Quorum pars maxima fuit.*" No man has lived for the folk and with the folk so much as Cavaliere Pitré: not even the name of Grimm can be put beside his when we regard the completeness of his survey of the Italian folk-mind, and the undivided devotion he has given to the collection of the rich stores of folk-memories in Sicily. But a few more volumes, and the *Biblioteca* will be complete, and at least one folk in Europe will be not wanting in its *vates sacer*. The Folk-lorists of Europe must wish Cavaliere Pitré continued strength to complete his monumental work.

JOSEPH JACOBS.

ISLÄNDISCHE VOLKSSAGEN aus der Sammlung von Jón Árnason ausgewählt und aus dem Isländischen übersetzt von M. LEHMANN-FILHÉS. Berlin : Mayer und Müller, 1889.

The same. Neue Folge. 1891.

SOME thirty years ago Messrs. Powell and Magnússon gave to the English public a translation of a number of Arnason's Icelandic tales, in two series, namely, sixty-six in the first and eighty in the second. More recently, J. C. Poestion issued in German a translation of *märchen* from the same source. These were the only portions of Arnason's great collection accessible to a reader unacquainted with Icelandic. The work before us is a German version of a selection of the sagas, drolls, and superstitions. The stories are two hundred and twenty-two in number, many of which are identical with stories translated by Powell and Magnússon. None, however, of those comprised in Poestion's selection are included. The translator's plan is to give specimens of each division of the collection except the *märchen*; and as twenty-six of the *märchen* are included in the English version, the total of all other stories given in the latter is not much more than one-half the number in the German translation. It is obvious, therefore, that the student of folk-tales who is ignorant of Icelandic will find the *Isländische Volkssagen* valuable. A comparison of the two versions with one another also leads to the conclusion that the German is quite as literal and forcible as the English, and probably often represents the original better. Sometimes it reproduces from Arnason's text details that are entirely wanting in the English. Thus we miss in the English version the paragraph introductory to the story called by Powell and Magnússon "Goldbrow"—from the heroine's name. It is given by the German translator; it describes the exact situation of the scene, and introduces the tale as a legend

of its early history. The concluding words of the tale and various expressions in the course of it, moreover, give local colour, which does not appear in the English. On the other hand, the English translators have appended a larger number of the superstitions which form one of the divisions of Arnason's collection. The space economised in the German is occupied by the rites at Christmas and other yearly festivals. The two versions are in this way complementary; and the *Isländische Volkssagen* may be commended even to those students who are fortunate enough to possess not only the second but the rare first volume of *Icelandic Legends*.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

THE GAELIC JOURNAL (*Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge*).
Vol. IV.

THIS Journal, founded, conducted, and published by the Gaelic Union for the Preservation and Cultivation of the Irish Language, is a storehouse of matter interesting to the folk-lorist. Vol. iv, which was completed in February 1894, contains, amongst other items, the following folk-tales in Irish, given as specimens of the various dialects:—

Pp. 7, 26, 35. "Eachtra air an sgoloig agus air an ngruagach ruadh" (Adventure of the Sgolog and the Red Gruagach), by P. O'Brien, from West Munster. A variant of Kennedy's Wexford story of the "Sculloge's Son from Muskerry". Mr. Larminie's "Morraha" is another variant from Achill Island, Co. Mayo.

P. 57. "Brionngloid Eoghain ui Mulreide" (Owen O. M.'s Dream). A comical tale from Mayo, by "Mac ui Ruadhrigh", of a man whose great desire was to have a dream, and who was advised to clear out the fire and put his bed in its place. This he did, and, in the dream which followed, went through many adventures, and finally awoke his wife by kicking one of his shoes off, when she discovered him climbing up the spit covered with soot.

P. 90. "Sgeul ar Nora ni Mac Aodha agus na Sidheog-aibh" (Story of N. ni Mac Hugh and the Fairies), from Galway, by C. P. Bushe.

Pp. 94, 111, 128, 145. "Iasgaire bheag Beul-ath-Sean-naigh" (The Little Fisherman of Ballyshannon), by J. C. Ward, a well-told "three-task" tale, from Donegal (byre-cleaning, egg-getting, castle-building), concluding with the cock and hen recognition incident.

P. 169. "Jack," by Colin Mac Fualain, a tailor of Aran (Middle Isle). There is a translation on page 179.

P. 194. "Sgeul timchioll puca" (Story about a Puca), by J. Deane, from Tralee. A variant of Dr. Hyde's tale, "Niall O Cearbhuidh."

P. 217. "Radhmon Mac Righ Laighean" (R. son of the King of Leinster), by Mr. O'Faherty, from Galway. Outline:—King of Leinster seeks, as second wife, the daughter of King of Germany. She falls in love with R., watching him play. He refuses her. She marries his father and attempts revenge on R., who flees to the King of Spain, whose daughter, born the same night as himself, he is betrothed to, in accordance with old custom. He slays three giants, but on his way home an impostor gets possession of the third giant's head, and, leaving R. bound, receives the hand of the princess. R., released by the King, goes in pursuit, and learns from the Princess that the robber will die if he is struck by an egg which is in a duck, in a ram, in a beam in the cellar. R. accomplishes this with aid of helping otter, hawk, and dog, takes the King's daughter back to her father, and marries her. [No return home or Nemesis.]

P. 224. "Diorfach Duin-Alt" (continued and concluded in vol. v, p. 5), by J. C. Ward, from Donegal. Outline:—The Diorfach has no children, but is promised two sons, and two are born the same night as there are two foals to the mare, two pups to the dog, and two birds to the hawk. Sons named Donn and Dubh. When of age, Donn sets off and comes to a castle, where he marries the daughter.

In the morning sees a hare with gold and silver ornaments, and follows it to a house in the wood. Old hag there finally tricks him, and turns him, his horse, dog, and bird into stone. Dubh sets out to find his brother. Comes to same castle, and is welcomed by the lady, who thinks he is her husband. In morning he follows the hare, outwits the hag, and kills her with aid of his beasts. Restores his brother, but re-turns him to stone on learning of his doings with his wife. Relents, and they come to the castle, to find that the Gruagach of Tricks in the Eastern World has carried the lady off. They pursue, and the lady learns from the Gruagach that he can only be killed by being struck on a spot on his throat by an egg, in a duck, in a ram, in an ash-tree. Donn gets the egg, hits and kills the Gruagach, and they take the lady home to her father, whose second daughter Dubh then marries.

On pp. 197, 222, and 239 will be found a capital article in Irish, with an English translation, on "An Sluagh Sidhe" (The Fairy Host), from West Cork, by Mr. P. O'Leary.

Throughout the volume are several collections of Irish proverbs, localisms, and peculiar words, Dr. Kuno Meyer contributes many anecdotes from Irish MSS., with English translations, and Father O'Growney modern Irish versions of older Gaelic—one from the Yellow Book of Lecan (A.D. 1416).

The Journal is edited by the Rev. E. O'Growney, M.I.R.A., Maynooth College, Co. Kildare; and with the new volume (vol. v) will be published monthly at sixpence.

LELAND L. DUNCAN.

A SURVEY OF THE ANTIQUARIAN REMAINS ON THE ISLAND OF INISMURRAY. By W. F. WAKEMAN. 1893. Pp. i-xxi, 1-159, 84 figures and 8 plates. Williams and Norgate.

THIS extremely valuable volume by Mr. Wakeman, the well-known Irish antiquary, is a reprint, with additions, of his memoir in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* for 1886, and is the extra volume of the Society for last year.

In the Preface, Mr. J. Mills gives a sketch of the literature on the island, including a letter by John O'Donovan (1836), extracted from the unique collection of MS. volumes in the Royal Irish Academy.

Inismurray lies four miles from the coast of Sligo, and appears to have been singularly fortunate in being comparatively free from the attacks of the Northmen of old, or the tourists of to-day; but some twelve years ago (1880-82) it fell into the hands of the Board of Works, and now is one of the numerous examples of the unsatisfactory manner in which the ancient monuments of Ireland are treated by that public body in whose charge they are placed. The following are some of the deeds alleged by Mr. Wakeman to have been perpetrated by the conservators (!).

The south-western wall of Teach-na-Teinidh ("The Church of the Fire") has been almost entirely rebuilt, and a windowless gable added (it is known that there was a window there). This church is so named from the sacred perpetual fire from whence all the hearths on the island, which from any cause had become extinguished, were re-kindled. "It would appear that archæology has suffered an irreparable loss by the disappearance from the church of a most remarkable flagstone called Leac-na-Teinidh, 'The stone of the fire.' The slab is said by several of the natives of the island to have been broken and utilised as building material by the reconstructors of the gable just referred to. It was, I believe, the only relic remaining in

Ireland which appeared to be connected in some way with fire worship" (p. 54). Sculptured stones have been removed to different positions (pp. 74, 103). "The cashel, for instance, has neither been *restored* nor *conserved*, it has been *transformed*. . . The southern entrance, together with a large portion of the adjoining wall, have been erected *in toto* by the men commissioned by the Board of Works as conservators (p. 19) . . . The wall all round is now of a nearly uniform height. There has been much building up, and there has been no little throwing down of original work. Scores of witnesses to the fact are ready to testify to the demolition (to the extent of from three to four feet) of upper portions of the ancient work. Ancient top courses of stones were required as materials for new base work (p. 28). . . . The Board of Works 'conservers' appear to have mistaken certain spaces between the inclines for the bases of niches. The wall should not have been meddled with. It would have been enough just to clear its base of fallen stones and rubbish. As it is, in the 'restoration', certain niche-like recesses, for which there is no precedent or authority, extending from the ground to the summit of the wall, have been constructed. To add, if possible, to the absurdity of this modern design, within each recess has been deposited a cross-inscribed memorial stone, which should never have been removed from the grave over which it had stood or lain for perhaps a thousand years or more." To this Col. Wood-Martin adds a note (p. 26): "Could the Board of Works 'restorer' have taken the recesses for 'stations'—mistaken pagan for Christian architecture?"

This indictment, made half a dozen years ago, has never been answered by the Board of Works, who still continue their ruthless work—witness their restorations in the Aran Islands, co. Galway, or the following paragraph from the *Journal* of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland (5), ii, 1892, p. 284:—"We cannot conclude this account without protesting strongly against the way in which repairs are being carried on at Skellig Michael [co. Kerry]

by the Board of Works. At the time of the visit of the Cambrian and Irish archæologists, an ordinary mason was seen calmly tinkering away at the ruins, pulling down a bit here, and building up a bit there, in imitation of the old style of work, without any kind of superintendence whatever. The vandalism perpetrated some time ago by the same authorities, at Inismurray, is being repeated here with a vengeance."

Such being the case, it is with consternation that we read the following on p. 24 in the Sixtieth Report from the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, 1891-92:—"It is feared that owing to want of funds further exploration of these monuments [in the Barony of Corcaguiny, W. of Dingle] cannot be undertaken this year, as there is a strong feeling that the money immediately available should be devoted to an exhaustive examination of the mounds on the Hill of Tara. Inquiries are being made from the best authorities as to the most satisfactory way of carrying out this work."

On referring to the "Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 1882", it is evident that no mention is made of the power of the Board of Works to expend public money in excavations, but only to maintain. "The expressions 'maintain' and 'maintenance' include fencing, repairing, cleansing, covering in, or doing any other act or thing which may be required for the purpose of repairing any monument, or protecting the same from decay or injury." The authorities of the Irish Board of Works can scarcely have fully appreciated a later clause which runs: "If any person injures or defaces any ancient monument to which this Act applies, such person shall, on summary conviction, be liable at the discretion of the court by which he is tried to one of the following penalties . . ."

It does not appear that in the past the Superintendent of National Monuments has ever sought archæological advice from the Royal Irish Academy, or from the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. The restorations done

by the Board of Works show neither special archaeological knowledge nor sentiment, and yet excavations and researches have been made without qualified archaeological supervision in a very important district in the Dingle promontory, apparently with money intended for other purposes, and now it is proposed to meddle with one of the most sacred sites in the British Islands! The exploration of the Hill of Tara is a matter of national importance, and should be attempted only by experts.

To return to Mr. Wakeman's book. The archaeologist will find the wonderful group of remains in this lonely island described with care and delineated with accuracy. There are numerous allusions to customs which will interest the folk-lorist, as, for instance, the rounded stones ("cursing" or "swearing" stones) on certain altars, which, when thrice turned widdershins, loose a curse at each revolution, but the curses come home to roost should the accused be innocent; and the use of the two holed-stones. "Women who expect shortly to become mothers are wont hither to resort, for the purpose of praying for a happy issue from the perils of their impending travail. The natives assert that death in childbirth is an unknown calamity upon the island. The postulants kneel, passing their thumbs into the front, and their fingers into the side openings, by which means a firm grasp of the angles of the stone is obtained. They are thus enabled to rise from their act of obeisance with a minimum of strain or difficulty" (p. 77). Tobernacragh, "the Well of Assistance", was drained of its water, which was poured into the sea with the offering of prayers when the weather was too tempestuous. In the original paper Mr. Wakeman was the first to draw attention to the old Irish hot-air bath, or sweat-house, of which there is an example here. There is one cemetery for the men and another for the women. "It is universally believed by the islanders that if a woman be buried in the men's ground the corpse will be removed during the night by unseen hands to the women's cemetery, and *vice versâ*."

We have one bone to pick with the author. On p. 137 occurs the following short paragraph: "A rambling and silly legend is told in connection with a slight depression, supposed to be the mark of a child's foot, which appears on one of the stones at the entrance [of a station, *Tratán Aodha*]. The former is not worthy of repetition, and the latter is evidently a fossil mark." No legend should be disposed of in so summary a fashion. Those who collect should record, and there are few legends which are not of value to some student or another.

SOME RECENT ANTHROPOLOGICAL ESSAYS.

FOLK-LORISTS who are interested in talismans, ancestral worship, and other phases of primitive religions, would do well to glance through a series of papers by Dr. O. Finsch, entitled *Ethnologische Erfahrungen und Belegstücke aus der Südsee*, which have just been concluded. They were published in the *Annalen des k. k. naturhistorischen Hofmuseums*, Vienna, A. Hölder, and comprised three parts. Part I, Bismarck Archipelago (New Britain, New Ireland, etc.), vol. iii (1888), pp. 83-160. Part II, New Guinea: 1, British New Guinea; (a) South-East Coast, vol. iii (1888), pp. 293-364; (b) East Cape and d'Entrecasteaux Islands, vol. vi (1891), pp. 13-33; (c) Trobriand, pp. 33-36; 2, Kaiser Wilhelms-Land, pp. 37-130. Part III Micronesia, vol. viii (1893): 1, Gilbert Islands, pp. 19-89; 2, Marshall Islands, pp. 119-182; Carolines, pp. 182-383, more particularly Kuschai, Ponapé, Ruk, and Mortlock. Scattered through these pages are numerous details, which it is well not to lose sight of; even museum catalogues, whether published such as this is, or unpublished, as is usually the case, occasionally contain notes of considerable interest to students of comparative religions.

Analogous to the foregoing is a quarto book, entitled *Ethnographische Beschrijving van de West-en Noordkust van Nederlandsch Nieuw-Guinea*, by F. S. A. de Clercq and

J. D. E. Schmeltz, Leiden, P. W. M. Trap, 1893, pp. i-xv, 1-300, with 42 plates and 51 illustrations in the text. Besides descriptions of talismans, etc., Herr Schmeltz has given a very valuable set of tables, with notes on the distribution of various objects and customs in New Guinea and neighbouring districts.

The current volume (vii, 1894) of the *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, contains one or two articles which will interest some of our members. Professor G. Schlegel has (p. 1) an illustrated paper on "A Canton Flower-boat". These are really floating café-chantants, in which the greatest decorum prevails. Of very great interest is Dr. J. Walter Fewkes' memoir on the "Dolls of the Tusayan Indians" (pp. 45-74); beautifully coloured illustrations are given of forty-three dolls, which are at present used simply as children's playthings. They are generally made by participants in a certain ceremony in July or August. There is a great similarity in the general form of the dolls, with an indication by the symbolic markings of the special personage intended. Dr. Fewkes points out that the characteristic details are always found on the head, and adds: "This fact is one which gives a great importance to the study of helmets, masks, and all cephalic decorations which are used in ceremonial dances." The figurines are carefully described, and their symbolism noted. Professor P. J. Veth communicates the first part of a paper, entitled "De Leer der Signatur", pp. 75-88. Signature is defined as "the resemblance of a vegetable, or a mineral, to any part of a man's body." This paper is therefore a contribution to the subject of sympathetic magic, and it deals with the subject in general, and gives a detailed account of the Mandrake (*Mandragora*).

A. C. HADDON.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SACRIFICES TO THE DEAD.

To the Editor of FOLK-LORE.

SIR,—I have just been eating *τηγανίταις*, or *λουκουμάδας*, as they are here called, round balls of dough, made, as I am told, just in the same way as German Fastnachts Kuchen, except that honey, not sugar, which has so often supplanted honey—the solemn food of gods and the dead—is poured over them. They are made here on St. Andrew's Eve, and eaten then, a present of a few from each house being made to the priest on the following day; but the stricter rite observed in less emancipated places is that they should be made in the early morning of St. Andrew's Day and sent to the church at once, when, after the service, they are distributed still hot from the oven and accompanied by raki.

Will anyone tell me if there is any peculiar significance in this detail of an ancient rite of sacrifice to the dead, this provision that the *τηγανίταις* should be eaten hot. They are better when they are hot, and this is probably the true reason of the usage. I am decidedly of opinion that we cannot find support in this *atom* for the theory of chthonic sacrifice which I entertain—a theory which I can do no harm to myself or anyone else by stating in this connection. I believe that the primitive notion of *all* sacrifice has been once and for all laid down by Prof. Robertson Smith. It is the notion of communion with some one by drinking the hot blood of a victim who represents him. The rites of chthonic and piacular sacrifice emphatically abjure this notion. The victim is not consumed by the sacrificants, and especial pains are taken to get rid of all

traces of its blood, its throat being cut into a trench (*ἐντέμνεται*) and its body being burnt on an altar little raised above the ground (*ἐσχάρα*), not on a high altar (*βωμός*). Libations of wine, which is representative of blood, are forbidden ; and, finally, either bloodless offerings or offerings of victims (such as human victims) whose blood it is repugnant to men to taste, are substituted for ordinary animal victims.

I believe, nevertheless, that the transition from the wish to be in communion with the dead, to the intense desire to avoid communion with them, which is illustrated by the change of usage as regards burial—the change from burial in the house to burial without the city walls—is no less vividly and truly illustrated by these changes in the usage of sacrifice. It is a change which has taken place in the history of our race, and the intense desire of the dead, as exemplified in the Inferno of the *Odyssey*, or modern vampire stories, to renew the blood covenant with the living, bears witness, since it is a fiction of the latter, to a still wakeful consciousness among us above ground of a once equally intense desire to renew our covenant with those beneath.

The causes which produced this revolution in the sentiment of mankind towards the departed are inscrutable for us, and it is profane to conjecture that such little details of ancient custom as eating *τηγανίταις* hot, and serving raki with them, can have survived through that turmoil ; but there *was* such a revolution. There was a time when men suddenly (as it seems to us) awoke to the consciousness that the dead whom they had cherished as their best friends were their deadliest enemies. Was the cause migration, and the necessity thereby entailed of burying the dead, not in the house which they loved to dwell in, but in places “where the foe and the stranger would tread o’er their head”, and they would be justly indignant? Was it the substitution of an age of high-living distrust for an age of acorns and confidence? And was this intense dread of

the dead the offspring of the conviction that *their* envy and *their* malice and *their* greed are likely to get the better of ours, since we live for a season, but they are dead for all time? Of these two alternatives (the only ones which suggest themselves to me) I am disposed to adopt the latter. I believe that *there was a golden age* when people's desires were more limited, and the home, with its speaking and silent inmates, was one. Then the first man who quarrelled (say with his mother-in-law, because she pretended to want things which she did not) came to regard with augmented dread and aversion the deceased mothers-in-law of his progenitors—more mighty because more eternal; the primitive view of humanity being that, in the words of Wesley's great hymn, "One family we dwell in Him, although divided by the stream, the narrow stream of death", but that our relations who have "passed the flood" are sure of outlasting ourselves, who may be drowned in it.

But, as I have said, it is possible for the faint light of vague speculation to play round this tree; there is no shaft of lightning yet forged which will pierce to its roots. This abrupt reversal of the attitude of the living towards the dead is not the least remarkable phenomenon in the history of mankind.

W. R. PATON.

Moughla, Turkey,
November 29th (Old Style).

THE PRESIDENT of the Society and the EDITOR of FOLK-LORE have much pleasure in acknowledging a letter from Mr. CHARLES G. LELAND in which the veteran folk-lorist warmly commends the work of the Society, and, as a token of his appreciation, encloses £5 towards paying off the deficit incurred by the Society in connection with the Second International Folk-Lore Congress. May he find as many imitators as he has friends and admirers among the members of the Folk-Lore Society!

MISCELLANEA.

An East Anglian Harvest Custom, locally known as "Halling Largees".—This is one of the most interesting survivals we have still extant among the labourers on the farms throughout Norfolk. Briefly it may be described as a certain rhythmic chant, rendered with action and gesture, and followed by a certain number of shouts—all of this being given in return for a monetary gift. It is correctly termed and spelt "Hallooing a Largess", though pronounced as above. The term largess, or largesse, is derived, according to Wedgwood, from the Latin *largus*, meaning of great size, copious, liberal; whence the French *largesse*, liberality, gifts.

Mr. Forby's account and statement that "Largess is a gift to reapers in harvest. When they have received it they shout thrice the words 'halloo largess'—an obvious corruption of the words 'à la largesse'—a very ancient form of soliciting bounty from the great, not of thanking them for it", is, I think, open to question, though on the face of it very feasible. I feel great doubt as to the obvious corruption of "à la" into "haller", as the system of crying or shouting largesse is of high antiquity, as ancient, probably, as the term itself. For example, in *The Household Book of the 5th Earl of Northumberland*, A.D. 1512: "My Lord useth and accustomyth to gyf yerely upon new yer's day to his lordship's officer at arms, arrols or pursyvaunt, for crying largess before his lordship, the said new yer's day, as upon the XIIth day following after, Xs for all day." And this custom of crying largesse by the herald, I may say, is still kept up at the creation or installation of Knights of the Garter and of the Bath. Sir Walter Scott refers to the "largess gifts" on New Year's Day, from a ballad by Stewart of Lorn, in reference to James Fifth (of Scotland):—

" Lerges, lerges, lerges, hay,
Lerges of this new year day,
First lerges of the King my chief."

And Scott, in *Marmion*, alludes to it thus:—The pursuivants having obtained from Marmion a gift, who "Gave them a chain of twelve marks weight", immediately acknowledge the present by crying:—

" Now largess, largess, Lord Marmion,
Knight of the Crest of Gold."

Here evidently largess is meant for thanks. It can scarcely mean a request for a further gift?

Shakespeare uses the term in the sense of a gift in the *Taming of the Shrew* :—

“Over and beside
Signor Baptista’s liberality,
I’ll mend it with a largess.”

Tusser, the quaint old Suffolk poet-farmer, in his *Five Hundred Points of Husbandry*, written about 1550, says :—

“Give gloves to thy reapers, a largess to cry.”

In this instance largess is evidently returning thanks.

A number of other examples of this custom might be cited, but it is fairly clear that “largess” might either be a gift, or thanks for a gift, when cried, shouted, or intoned. I should have mentioned that Colgrave defines largesse as bounty—handfuls of money cast among the people.

At what date largesse took the form we now see it cannot be determined, though we may assume that it became connected with the season of harvest, at the time it was associated with agriculture, that being the chief event of the year. When the increase of the earth was gathered in and garnered, it would seem natural that feasting and rewards should be given to the reapers. And the rude and clumsy form of returning thanks for the latter is on a par with “returning thanks” song sung by the men at the Harvest Home (now falling into desuetude). But at what date, or by whom originated, though it may be impossible to determine, there can be little doubt the originators, or adopters rather, were no bad judges of the effects of contrast in action and sound. It is impossible to express this by a mere verbal description; it requires to be witnessed to be fully appreciated. The following account may, however, give some idea of the scene :—

One evening, when the corn was nearly all cut, the men assembled in front of the house, and, after collecting the donations, joined hands and formed a ring, two only out of the number (there were about a dozen in all) standing about ten or twelve yards from the ring. All the others then bowed their heads very low towards the centre of the circle, and, keeping in that position, their heads bowed down, gave utterance to a low deep mutter, like the muttered hollow sound of an incantation, the words of which (if words they can be called) sounded like Hoo—Hoo—Hoo (said by some to be Whoop—Whoop—Whoop, but sounding much more like the former), after which they swiftly raised their heads and threw them back, ejaculating a loud shrill shriek of ‘A-A-A-H’, ‘A-a-a-h’, and this was repeated several times, I

think about a dozen, corresponding with the amount collected, from four to five shillings, or thereabouts. Mr. Moor mentions that in Suffolk "thrice for a shilling" is the established usage; but this is not carried out to the letter. After this the Lord of the Largess (he who takes charge of the money, and is the foremost man in reaping, pitching, etc.) went a little way from the circle, about fifty yards perhaps, and stood with his head thrown back, and his hands above his mouth, and cried out in a loud, sonorous, but rather doleful voice:—

"Holla—Lar! Holla—Lar!

Holla—Lar—g-e-e-s!"

The last syllable "gees" being drawn out, and in a lower key.

The circle, which in the meantime had bowed their heads down, as before, as the last syllable died away, suddenly raised their hands aloft, threw up both arms, and shrieked out a repetition of "gees". This cry having at length ceased, the "Lord", at the utmost pitch of his voice, cried out:—

"Thank Mr. and Mrs. S—— and friends for their Largess."

This was the final act, and after being regaled with harvest-cake and ale they dispersed and went home.

This account I know quite inadequately expresses the full effect of the contrast in action and sound. The low mutter with deep prostration, suddenly followed by the shrill cry, almost a shriek, with the heads thrown back as much as possible, the loud, clear, prolonged and pensive-toned cry of the "Lord", with *his* head thrown back as much as possible, and his hand held above his mouth, trumpet-like, is sharply contrasted by the sudden uprising of the circle, and the wild tossing-up of arms and shrill intonation of the last syllable. The "Lord" by his attitude seems addressing someone at a great distance, and in the still evening light the whole effect is exceedingly fine and barbaric.

Blythburg House,

South Town, Great Yarmouth.

W. B. GERISH.

Popular Explanation of Tree-Decay.—Driving round Charnwood Forest, Leicestershire, in the spring of 1893, I was told by my driver, hired from Loughborough, that the old oaks were said to have *lost their tops* when Lady Jane Grey, who resided at Bradyates Hall in that neighbourhood, was beheaded! A curious argument from analogy. The topless condition of the trees is still more conspicuous in Sherwood Forest, Nottinghamshire, where the top of one large oak, called "Simon Forester", is said to have fallen not many years since, killing a child.

G. H. SKIPWITH.

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(THE proceedings at this meeting have already been reported in FOLK-LORE, Vol. V, No. 2.)

FURTHER NOTES FROM COUNTY LEITRIM.

BY LELAND L. DUNCAN, F.S.A.

When last year I had the pleasure of laying before the Society some notes from the parish of Kiltubbrid, co. Leitrim, which embodied the more general folk-sentiment of the district, I was not without hope that I might be able to extend the area covered by my researches to other parts of the county during the past summer. This, however, I was unable to do, and what I have to present to you in continuation of my first paper has all been gathered in the above-named parish.

Cut off as the place is from outside influence, one would perhaps expect to find a greater number of customs surviving, and in this respect the locality is disappointing. Fortunately, what is lacking in one direction is made up in another, and, all things considered, a place cannot be ranked as coming below the standard which supplies, besides the odds and ends here brought together, at least a dozen folk-tales in a fair state of preservation. I attribute this to the fact that little reading being indulged in by the people (save perhaps of a newspaper now and then), the folk-tale is still in request round the fire on a

winter's night. Among the older people, too, memories of past ideas yet linger, which, though changing rapidly into "superstitions", or "pistogues", as they themselves will tell you, yet have a certain amount of credence given them.

Such, for instance, is the story attaching to Polaphuca, or Lugaphuca, a piece of disused road running past Annadale, Mr. James Slacke's residence. There are tales of phantom asses to be seen there at times, but they are paled by that told of a certain man named O'Neil, who was returning home one night before the road was diverted further from the house. It was very dark as he rode down the slope of the hill, when suddenly a pooea jumped up on the horse behind him, and began to squeeze him to death. It was going hard with him, when he remembered a black-handled knife that was in his pocket; so he out with it, and struck behind him, and presently the hold of the creature relaxed, and he got to his own door. There, half-dead with fright, he flung his horrible burden on the heap beside the house, and went in to bed. Next morning he found nothing on the heap but a log of wood with a great gash in it.

This I was told by Francis Mulvanerty, who is nearly seventy years of age, and who gave it as the reason for the place being called Lugaphuca (the Hollow of the Ghosts).

Most of the fire-side tales relate to the doings of some (generally nameless) hero against the giants, who belong to a far-away period, having been driven out by the good people. According to the popular story, the fairies challenged the giants to fight in harvest time, and chose a cornfield for the battle. When the giants arrived, the fairies made themselves invisible, and set to work to fight with the butts of the sheaves. The giants stood this for some time, and then, finding it impossible to return the blows of their assailants, they turned and fled.

A belief in the present-day existence of the "good

people" seems fairly general. Besides the forts, "lone bushes" are declared to be specially under their protection, and in many fields is to be seen a small blackthorn bush, which it would be most unlucky to cut down. The children tell you that when the Danes left Ireland they hid their treasure and planted a bush over each pot of gold, so that in the event of their return they would know where to look for it.

I have collected a few more stories of the fairies and their doings. That of the "Football Players" seems to be a wide-spread tale in one form or another; here is the Kiltubbrid version, by Barney Whelan of Driny:—

THE FOOTBALL PLAYERS.

There was a man returning home one evening, when, as he was crossing a field, there met him a man on horse-back. "Will you come with me for a couple of hours?" said he. "I will," says the first; "but how will I come back?" "Oh, I'll leave you back," said the man; so he up on the horse behind the stranger, and away with them.

"Now what I want you to do is this: we've got a football match on, and you must kick for us."

"Well, I will," says he; and on that they were in the football field and the game began, and Jack wasn't long before he kicked the ball before him and kicked a goal. There was great joy among the little people, and they all set off to the big house for refreshment. Then the man who had brought Jack came and said, "You must take no refreshment here, nor take any notice of anything." So he watched them in the hall, and they had great eating and drinking.

To his great surprise, the first girl that brought in a dish was a sister he had lost three years before, but she passed without noticing him, and disappeared. After a while the man who had brought him came, and they mounted his horse and soon were back at the field whence they came. Then before he went, the horseman asked Jack what could

he do for him? "Well," said he, "I saw my sister that's been dead three years at that house, and I would like her back."

"It's a hard thing," said the man, "but I'll try and do it for you." So he went away, and in a little time returned with the girl and disappeared. There was much joy on the two of them, and they set off for home.

Early in the morning the old father was wakened by a lowing without, and he saw some cattle among his oats. So he out and hunted them, and back to bed, and he says to the wife: "There's Jack come in, and he's brought a wife with him at last."

They had great astonishment when the lad brought down his sister, and she wasn't a day older than when she died. She went out and called the cows in—for they had been sent with her—and there they are now.

The two following tales are told as facts regarding persons living within memory :—

JUDGE AND THE BUCKIES.

Judge was a young fellow who lived with a married brother. There was a fort beside the house, and of an evening as he passed this on his way home, a "buckie" used to jump on his back and take a ride until he came to the stream that ran by the door, when the little creature would fall off. One night Judge turned his coat and hat, to see what would happen, and, as he expected, ne'er a "buckie" came near him. He thought, however, that it would get him laughed at if he entered the house that way, so he turned his coat back again, when "plop" came one on his back!

They never did him any harm, though; indeed, he had one good friend among them. One day he was taking a cow to the fair at Boyle, and, leaving the beast in the byre, he went to bed. In the middle of the night he was awakened by a voice calling his name three times. Going down, he found his cow nearly strangled, and was just in

time to free her head, which had become entangled in the ropes. He knew then it was his friends the "buckies" who had called him. (Patrick McManus, Aughrim.)

JAMES DOGHERTY AND THE STILL.

On the townland of Lisdrumacrone lived James Dogherty and Ody Mahon. These two had a whiskey-still between them, but it had been lent to friends in Keshcarrigan, and Dogherty and two others went to Kesh one night to bring it home. As they went on the road they heard the noise of horsemen following, and saw a troop of the "good people" coming along, with their little swords glittering in the moonlight. As they swept by they called out three times, "Good-night, James Dogherty!"

Dogherty and his companions were somewhat scared, but went on, and when they arrived at the green at Kesh there was the company drawn up in line. They wheeled round and rode past, saying again, "Good-night, James Dogherty!" James and his friends then got the still and went home safely. He used to put a pot of whiskey in the fort for the "good people", and they in return led the revenue men astray, so that the still was never discovered. They were doubtless safeguarding its home-coming on the night in question.

Ody Mahon managed later on to incur the displeasure of the little folk, by cutting down bushes in a part of his holding where they had their playing-place. Their revenge took the shape of pelting his house after dark with little clods of earth, pebbles, etc., and finally the family had to quit the place. (Michael Lynch, formerly of Lisdrumacrone.)

A favourite tale is that of how Battle Bridge came by its name :—

STORY OF BATTLE BRIDGE.

There lived near Sheemore (a hill on the Carrick-on-Shannon road), many years ago, a farmer who had a good

many cows, and was altogether in a fairly prosperous way. One day, as he was going by a bush, he heard a voice say, "We shall have plenty of milk to day." He knew it was the good people talking, so he told his man to leave one cow and her calf always in the field, hoping that thereby he would have the friendship of the fairies. After a time bad luck came upon him, and at last all his cattle were seized for debt and driven off towards Boyle. The poor man in his misery called out in the fields to the good people, saying he had always left them a cow for milk, and now, in his evil days, they had deserted him. It was not so, however. When the party with his cattle reached the Shannon, and went to cross it, they were assailed by an invisible host which beat them without mercy, and hunted them and drove back the cattle to the farm again, and they were left in peace, none caring to interfere with them.

It is from this circumstance that the place where it occurred is called Battle Bridge.

THE FIRST TURF FIRE.

So natural does it seem to see the turf burning on the cottage hearths, that it is difficult to conceive of a time when the people were ignorant of the use of it. Most things, however, have a beginning, and this is the story of the first turf fire according to Francis Whelan of Driny, who had it from an old resident in the place :—

Before the days of Saint Patrick, the only fuel the Irish had was wood, for the use of turf had not been discovered. One day St. Patrick's servant was returning home, when suddenly a little man in red appeared in front of him. "If you will ask St. Patrick the answer to one question", said he, "I will tell you something in return."

"Weil, what is it?" said the man.

"To-morrow morning at Mass ask him this question: 'Is there any hope for the fallen angels?'"

So the next morning at Mass, at the elevation, the

servant called out he had a question he wished to ask (for the celebrant must answer any question put to him that moment). When Mass was over, St. Patrick said, "Who was that wretched man who called out?" The servant then told the saint about the little man and his question.

Said St. Patrick: "You may just go and dig your own grave, for when you tell him the answer he will surely kill you, but don't forget to lay the loy and the shovel crosswise¹ over the grave when you have done, for the answer to the little man's question is, 'There is no hope for the fallen angels.'"

Then the man went and dug his grave, and he had just put the loy and shovel over him, when the little red man appeared and asked his question. When he heard the reply he tried to get at the poor servant to kill him, but as he was protected by the cross made by the loy and shovel, he could not touch him. At last he said: "Well, you have answered my question, and though it is against us, I must tell you something as I promised. Go to the bog and throw up some of the turf on it, and let it dry in the sun, and it will make a good fire for you"—and he disappeared. The man got out of the grave then, and he told St. Patrick what the little red man had said, and when they tried they found every word true, and from that day the Irish have used turf for fuel.

WITCHES.

"There were many witches in and round Ireland until St. Patrick came and drove them away"—such is the almost universal remark of the peasantry. "But," said I, "are witches yet quite gone?" "Indeed they are not", said an old woman, "and I can tell you what happened not so long ago.

"There were two boys in a parish near, and it's many a garden they robbed. There was an old woman living in a cabin in the place, and as she had the reputation of being

¹ This is done to this day when a grave is dug.

a witch, her apples were left in peace. One day, one lad said to the other that they'd see whether the woman was a witch or no. 'Do you go this night on a kalie, and talk with the old woman and her daughter, and, while you're talking, I'll take the apples, and you will soon see whether she knows what I'm doing.'

"That evening one lad set off for the house, and he sat there by the fire talking until it was late, and he thought his friend would have his work done. Then he said 'good night' to the old woman and her daughter, and went, thinking it was a good share of apples he'd be getting. When he got near home he met his companion, who bitterly reproached him for his breach of good faith. Said he, 'But the old woman talked with me the whole evening.' Then he heard the other's tale: how that he had waited until he thought the party would be gathered round the fire, and he had then gone into the garden after the apples, but he hadn't more than two or three pulled, when the old woman came out and chased him round and round the trees, and hunted him from the place, and many was the thwack she gave him with her stick. 'I declare to goodness', says the other, 'she never left my sight this evening.'

"So that shows that witches are not gone from us quite yet."

STOLEN BUTTER.

Perhaps the most favourite tales of witchery are those relating to the taking of butter, and this because there is not a person who does not believe that butter can be, and is, taken from the milk by the aid of witchcraft. I heard from several that they had "lost their butter", as the phrase is, for a month at a time; and no matter how they churned there was nothing but froth on the milk.

The tale of the absent-minded priest is the best of this class of story:—

Once there was a good priest who, as his wont was, walked out in the morning saying his office; and as he

walked, an old woman in the field hard by was gathering the dew from the long grass into her hands, saying, "Come all to me, come all to me, come all to me." Without knowing he did so, the priest said, "And half to me, and half to me, and half to me." He thought no more of the matter until he got home, when he was told that the morning's churn had given three times the usual quantity of butter. By-and-bye the neighbours came complaining to him that not a bit of butter could any of them get. The good man expressed his sorrow, but said he was at a loss to know how he could help them. Then one old man reminded him that it was May morning, and that the witches could take butter that day by gathering the dew-drops from the long grass. "Ah!" said the priest, "now I remember when I was out early this morning I saw an old woman sweeping the dew into her hands, and saying, 'Come all to me,' and now I remember I said 'And half to me, and half to me.'"

So he divided that morning's churning as far as it would go, and they sent to the house of the old witch, who had nothing but an old billy-goat, and found three tubs of freshly churned butter there; so that, with what the priest gave them, just made up what was wanting, and it was a merry May Day they spent that day anyway. (Ann Whelan, Driny.)

Of the means adopted to take butter, information is naturally scanty. A prelude to the operations is said to be to pull down a little of the thatch over the door of the house selected. A more curious and gruesome idea is that a hand taken from a person newly buried has this power. The story runs, that a woman in Ballinamore was suspected of this, and watch having been made, she was discovered dipping the hand in the churn, saying, "Gather far and near, gather far and near."¹

Another plan was discovered by a man who was return-

¹ Lady Wilde notes this idea, and has a story entitled "The Dead Hand" in her *Legends*.

ing home one night, and looking in at the window of a certain house, saw an old hag sitting by the fireside with a pail between her knees, and a straw rope tied on the crook, and she milking the spit and singing, "Boneen, Boneen, Boneen."

It is also generally asserted that if the washings from a churn are thrown into a stream which runs into a lough, and the "man-keepers" (newts) taste them, they will ever after take the butter from that house.

As touching "man-keepers", there is a tale of a man swallowing one whilst drinking water from a bog-hole. He found his appetite increase so that nothing would appease it, and at last he went to a doctor, who asked him did he ever drink water out in the fields. The man told him what he had done, and the doctor said he must have swallowed a man-keeper, and that he probably had by that time a whole family inside him. He told him he must eat a pound of salt, and not take a drop to drink, no matter what thirst was on him, and then to hold his head over a gallon of water. This he did, and the whole family jumped out one after another, and the last as big as a cat. The foolish fellow, however, kept his mouth open too long, and one jumped back again and could not be got out, and the poor man did not last long after that.¹

BIRTH, MARRIAGE, DEATH.

With the exception of the tales about changelings, which I have already recited, there does not appear to be any lore connected with childbirth. In some parts of Ireland there are many precautions taken to prevent children being overlooked, but they are generally adopted before baptism. Such, if they existed in Kiltubbrid, have died out there, and the only note on this subject I have come across is, that after a child was christened it was the

¹ See Dr. Hyde's *Beside the Fire* for the best version of this story.

custom by careful folk to quench a turf from the fire and sew a bit on the child's bib. This was left there for nine days, and then sewn tightly up in a piece of cloth with a cross made on it, and placed under the child's head to prevent it being overlooked.

WEDDING CUSTOMS.

Nearly all the old wedding customs have gone. The bridecake is sometimes broken over the head of the bride, and the "band-beggars" come an odd time, but otherwise the proceedings do not call for much remark. I have, however, collected the following notes on customs which I am told were formerly observed. My informant, a middle-aged woman, lived for some years with aged relatives, who were probably the sources of her lore on the subject. The customs, generally, seemed quite unknown to others in the district:—

Before going to church the bride had two ribbons pinned in a cross on her dress behind her, and if she returned without them good luck would attend her.

The groom had the besom thrown at him as he went to church, and if it fastened on to any part of his clothing it was considered lucky.

Before they went each to church the bride's mother used to give the bride a shilling, and the groom's father gave him a five-shilling piece. They each hid it in the stones at their hearth in the sleeping-room with a harrow-pin, saying they buried their bad luck.

The groomsman used also to give the groom a crooked sixpence, and the latter, having killed a magpie, slit the bird's tongue with the coin, and, leaving it therein, buried the bird with a horse's shoe under the hearth iron. This was done for good luck.

Before going to church the groom used to tie a straw on the chimney crook, and if it was all burnt before he started it was considered a bad omen.

At the coming in from church a cake, which in old time was made of oatmeal, was broken over the head of the bride. This is frequently done still.

Another small cake, made of sugar, flour, etc., used also to be made, and in this were stuck nine pound-pins (a tenth having been thrown away). This was left on the table and handed by the groom to the bride, and it was considered lucky if it broke into four quarters in her hand; but if not, something evil would happen to them within twelve months.

At the supper, the "wedding candlestick" was brought in. This held four candles for the groom's friends, and one in the midst for the bride. The candles were then lighted, and if the bride's candle burnt before the others something would happen either the bride or the groom within the year. The groom took away the ends of all the candles, placed them in his right sock tied up with twine with nine knots in it, and placed it secretly over the inside of the kitchen door of his house.

It is after supper that a visit is to be apprehended from the "band-beggars", as a band of men sometimes as many as forty in number, dressed up in straw and with blackened faces and carrying thick sticks, is called. Having settled to visit the bride's house, they come in the evening after supper, and demand admittance. This cannot safely be refused, and the captain of the band (distinguished by a broad plait on his straw headdress) then dances with the bride. Refreshment is expected by the whole band, after which they go away. Sometimes the visit is purely for amusement, but at others the opportunity is taken of the disguise to pay off old scores, especially if the groom or the bride's father is disliked. A visit is consequently dreaded, particularly by the women of the wedding party, and notice is sent to the police if there is any probability of one taking place. This, combined with the fact that a blackened face at night-time would possibly get its owner

into serious trouble if caught, is causing the practice to fall into disuse.¹

It occasionally has happened that bands arrive from different districts, having been organised unknown to one another. A fight is the result, as might be expected.

The dance at the end of the wedding day is called "dawsa bonsha" (wedding dance). This is begun by the bride and groom. After a few turns the groom sits down, and the groomsman dances with the bride. Then the bride gives way to one of the bridesmaids, and so on until all those present are dancing. The bride and groom then endeavour to steal away unobserved, their retreat being covered by the married women of the party; should, however, their going out be seen, the bride takes off her right stocking and throws it at the company, and he on whom it alights will be the next to marry.

The bride seldom goes to her new home on the night of the wedding; but that is reserved until a day some weeks off, called the "dragging home", when the groom comes for her. Any furniture she may have to bring with her is then set out, and in old times a small chair, called the Bride's Chair, was made specially to be brought along therewith. This was a small, three-legged stool, one leg of straight wood, the second of crooked wood, and the third crossing the other two. It was known as Crisa-Crossa, and was kept by the bride in her sleeping-room, but it was not intended for use.²

On arriving at the groom's house the groomsman used to throw a bottle of whiskey in the air, which was supposed to give three turns in descending, and if it broke at the third turn on reaching the ground it was a lucky sign.

Under the heading of 31st October (Hallowe'en) will be

¹ Dr. Hyde informs me that the practice extends all over Connaught.

² Gregor, in *Folk-lore of North-East of Scotland*, p. 100, states that a stool always forms part of the bride's goods.

found charms for finding the name of a future partner. Here is another recipe, which may be tried at any time:—

Take the first egg laid by a black pullet, add the full of it of salt, and the full of it of oatmeal or Indian meal. Make it into three little cakes, and bake them. Then let two girls and a boy eat one each in a bite. This done, not a word must be spoken by any of them, but go to bed. A dream of the lover will surely follow. Custom considerably allows the experimenters to place a porringer of water by their bedsides, to allay the *druth* which will inevitably assail them.

THE WAKE.

Wakes of the old type are falling into disrepute, and they would only take place in the event of the deceased having no near relatives. My remarks under this head, then, are devoted to the games which were, and occasionally are, played at wakes, and I have noted them particularly, because they are never played on any other occasion.

The most favourite game is that called "The Nine Daughters". Two masters having been appointed, nine men are sent out and brought in singly, each having chosen a trade. They are introduced to the supposed father of the daughters, with these words:

"Here comes a [tailor] so neat and so fine,
He's come to court a daughter of thine."

The father answers:

"I'll set my nine daughters down by my knee,
And it's no [tailor] will get a wife from me."

The tailor then says:

"A fig for your daughter, and a fig for yourself,
For three-halfpence more I'd get a far better wife."

The father is then persuaded to give him one of his daughters, but asks what fortune would be wanted with her. Finally he insists on giving her a good fortune, but says he

cannot pay it all at once, and asks in how many "gales" the young man will have it, always endeavouring to fix the gales at a high number. This having been settled the other trades follow. As a conclusion, each one is hoisted on the back of one of the masters, and receives for each gale of his fortune a prick with a "pound" pin, to the amusement, doubtless, of the company.

Another game, called the "Marriage", is played by an appointed master giving each girl a partner as he repeats this rhyme :

"I'm a poor widow that's come from Athlone,
I have ne'er a daughter to marry but one ;
Go away, daughter, and choose your own,
Choose a good one or else choose no 'ne."

Another wake pastime is the arrival of "Jackeen and Bessheen", a couple of lads dressed up sometimes in straw, after the fashion of the band-beggars at a wedding, but more generally in old clothes. Bessheen has a big hump on her back, made with the help of some hay and a large shawl. They play all sorts of pranks, such as Robbing the Stanen. For this Bessheen has a stool, on which are pieces of paper, and if any of the company can engage her attention and steal the paper pieces, she gets a beating from Jackeen.

"Shuffle the Bróg" (or Hunt the Slipper) is played after a rough fashion with a piece of knotted rope.

THE YEAR AND ITS SEASONS.

The following notes on the Calendar embody all that I have been able to collect as to times and seasons :—

New Year's Day.—Any *mankind* brings good luck on New Year's morn ; *i.e.*, if a male is the first to go into a house he brings good luck, but a female brings bad luck.

The first thing you eat in the morning will cure you throughout the year if you fall sick.

Hansel Monday (first Monday in the New Year).—An

unlucky day to pay for anything with money, but it is considered lucky to have a present of money on this day.

6th January (Twelfth Night).—On this night a piece of board is covered with cow-dung, and twelve rush-lights are stuck therein. These are sprinkled with ash at the top, to make them light easily, and then set alight, each being named by someone present, and as each dies so will the life of its owner. A ball is then made of the dung, and it is placed over the door of the cow-house for an increase of cattle. Sometimes mud is used, and the ball placed over the door of the dwelling-house.

2nd February (St. Bridget's Day).—On this night it was the custom to make a wide plaited cross of rushes and place it over the inside of the door of the dwelling-house. This has fallen into disuse. St. Bridget is the patron of the parish.

Shrove-tide is called Seraft, and Shrove Tuesday Seraft-Day. It is a favourite time for marriages to take place, being before Lent commences.

Cropping Days.—The Thursday before Lent people used to have their hair cut, and then not again until the last Thursday in Lent. These days were called the Cropping Days.

17th March (St. Patrick's Day).—On this day pieces of card were covered with bits of bright coloured stuff and called Patrick's crosses. These were worn by children on the right shoulder. The practice is dying out.

1st, 2nd, and 3rd April (the "Borrowing Days").—When the 1st of April came the old cow kicked up her heels, and said, "Be hanged to March!" So March borrowed three days from April, and, turning on a bitterly cold wind, shrivelled the old cow up.

Easter Monday.—On this day, until a few years ago, a cake was made by one of the "quality" and given to the people. A churndash having been stuck up in a field, the cake was placed thereon and covered with a white cloth, upon which all the company commenced to dance, and

danced until they were tired. One of the boys then took the cake and handed it to his sweetheart, and led her away to the house, followed by all his and her friends. When they arrived inside the house, the girl cut a heart-shaped piece out of the centre of the cake and gave it to the boy, and the remainder she cut into pieces, and gave a bit to each of the company. After this drinking began, and was kept up until early morning, as much as fifteen gallons of whiskey being sometimes sold.

1st May.—The old practices of this day are disappearing. Formerly no one would willingly be the first to light a fire, and many an anxious look round at the neighbours' houses was given to see if smoke was rising before the careful woman of the house would bring herself to kindle a blaze. On the other hand, no one would give fire on this day, not even to light a pipe, so that it behoved everyone to have the means of lighting one ready to hand. It was also considered very unlucky to throw out water or ash on May Day, to do so would have been to throw away the luck of the house for the year, and would especially result in a loss of butter on the milk.

These customs are still adhered to by the older people.

On May-morning the children scatter May-flowers (marsh-mallow), gathered on May-eve, before the door of their house.

The days on which rent falls due are known as Gale Days. There are two in each year, usually 1st May and 1st November, but sometimes 25th March and 29th September.

23rd June, St. John's Eve (Bonfire Day).—Fires are lighted after dusk on the hills and along the sides of the roads.

Garland Sunday (last Sunday in July).—Flowers used to be placed round wells on this day, hence its name; but the custom is falling into disuse. An adjournment to the nearest inn is apparently taking its place.

Harvest.—A little oats are grown, but the chief harvest is that of the hay, and those who have much to save are

glad of all the assistance that they can get. It is a most pleasing feature to see how entirely this mutual help is given. In the case of the landlord, word is passed round, generally by the overseer, that Mr. So-and-So's hay is to be got in, and he'd be glad if this man and that man would come. No one is compelled to come, and no money is offered or asked for, the day being called a "Thank-you Day". Early on the morning of the day selected, men arrive, some with carts, others only with forks. They are given breakfast and dinner, and, when all is completed, the day is finished up with a dance in the kitchen.

The gathering is known as a Meitheal (pron. *mě-hel*), which means a body of men brought together for work, more especially harvesting.

15th September (Lasser Day).—Pilgrimages are made to a holy well at Kilronan, in co. Roscommon, called Lasser (pronounced *Losser*) Well. For a month before these are in progress, and terminate this day, the nearest Sunday to the 15th September being the best attended nowadays, as a special train is put on for the purpose to Arigna, from whence the well is about three miles. The pilgrimages are generally in fulfilment of a vow made during the previous year, when sickness is on you, or when you are troubled with toothache. They are discountenanced by the clergy as much as possible, and in order to show how little the saints had to do with the place, one of the Roman Catholic Bishops is said to have cast the dust off his feet into the well. That night, so the folk say, lights were seen round the well, and the most heartrending sounds proceeded therefrom, which were interpreted to mean the dismay of the evil spirits at the defeat of their schemes. The attendance at the "pattern" in 1893 was, however, fully up to the average.

31st October (Hallowe'en, or more generally Holly-eve).—This night still holds its own against the incoming tide of "civilisation", and many are the tales of the doings of the "good people" thereon.

One Hallow-eve, as a young fellow was going home, he chanced to pass a fort, and heard the most beautiful music he had ever listened to in his life. As he stopped to listen, a grand castle seemed to appear before him, and he was invited to enter. Inside he found full of little men running about, and one of them came to him and told him on no account to take any refreshment there or it would be the worse for him, so, although many pressed him, he took nothing. By-and-bye he saw them all trooping out. He followed, and noticed that they all dipped their fingers in a large cask outside the entrance door and rubbed their fingers across their faces. He accordingly dipped his finger in the liquid and rubbed it over one of his eyes. In an instant there was a fine horse ready for him, and away with him and the others over the country, and over the whole world.

Towards morning he found himself lying on the butt of an old haystack, about half-a-mile from his own door, and getting up, he made his way home. The next day he had occasion to go into the market town, and whom should he see there but all his friends of the night, mingling with the people of the place, and going up and down through the market. What must he do but up and speak to some of them, and asked them how they did. Said one to him, "How can you see us?" So he told them that he had dipped his finger in the barrel before the castle door and rubbed it over his right eye. That instant as he spoke the little man struck his eye with a stick he had, and took the sight from it, and it was no more he saw either of the "good people" or anything else with that eye.

There are the usual games in the evening, such as pouring molten lead through a key into water, bobbing for apples, and ducking for money ; but the chief amusement is the attempt to find out the name of the person who will be your future partner. A cake is made called barm-breac, with a nut and a ring therein. Whoever gets the ring will be married first, and the nut brings a widow (or a widower)

if it contains a kernel; but if it is a blind nut, then a spinster or bachelor life awaits its possessor. The same is done also with a dish of mashed potato and cabbage. With regard to the last-named vegetable, the girls are led out blindfold to the cabbage garden and pull cabbages, judging by those pulled of the appearance of their future husbands. If one is pulled with a double head a widower may be expected. Later in the night the lads steal all the cabbages they can, and break them in pieces by throwing them on the roads, which are sometimes found covered with the *débris* of broken cabbage in the morning.

The girls also look out secretly for a briar-thorn which has grown over into the ground, forming a loop. In the evening, late, this must be crept through three times in the devil's name, the briar cut and placed under the pillow without speaking a word, and the dream to follow will be of the future husband.

Another plan is to throw a clew, or ball of worsted, down a lime-kiln in the evening, in the devil's name, retaining the end in the hand. This is rewound, saying, "Who holds my clew?" and the name (if any) given from the depths of the kiln will be that of the future husband. An experiment well suited for practical joking, as more than one story current testifies.

The boys gather ten ivy leaves, without speaking, and throw away the tenth. They must not be brought into the house until bedtime, when they are placed in the right sock, and this, again, under the pillow, saying these words only:—

"Nine ivy leaves I place under my head,
To dream of the living and not of the dead.
If ere I be married or wed unto thee,
To dream of her to-night, and her for to see,
The colour of her hair, and the clothes that she wears,
And the day she'll be wedded to me."

Sometimes yarrow leaves are used instead of ivy.

Others take a rake, and go round a rick nine times,

saying, "I rake this rick in the name of the devil," and at the ninth time the spirit of the future partner will come and take the rake from the hands of the operator.

At the gatherings on Holly-eve, one of the company used to cover himself with a white sheet, and run through the house holding a plate with a little lighted whiskey on it. The light from this on the sheet has a most deathlike appearance.

On this night, if the ashes of the fire are raked smooth, tracks thereon will be found next morning. If the toes face into the hearth, a stranger will come to the house before that day twelvemonth ; if the toes face out, someone will leave ; but if the track of a coffin is seen, then a member of the house will die within the year.

There is a common saying that the devil has the haws and blackberries destroyed after Hollandtide.

26th December (St. Stephen's Day).—On this day a wren is killed, and carried by the boys, called wren-boys, with a bush covered with coloured ribbons, etc., singing :—

"The wren, the wren, the king of all birds,
On St. Stephen's Day he was caught in the furze ;
Although he is little, his family's great,
So rise up, mistress, and give us a treat."

The well-known story is told of the wren hiding on the eagle's back, and flying over his head as he proclaimed himself king of the birds, saying, "No, but I am the king!" Whereon the eagle gave him a blow with his wing, and knocked him down into a furze-bush, and this is the reason why the wren can never do more than flit from bush to bush.

MISCELLANEA.

Magpies.—

"One, two, or three magpies' roar,
Outside the door,
Brings money."

“One is sorrow,
Two is mirth,
Three’s a wedding,
Four a birth.”

Pigeons.—It is considered unlucky to keep pigeons in the dwelling-house.

Crickets.—It is unlucky to kill a cricket, or to talk of killing them, because they tell one another and come and eat your clothes.

Charm for Toothache.—Say three times night and morning, or write on a slip of paper and carry about with you :—

“Peter sat on a marble stone,
Jesus came to him alone :
‘What ail’st thou, Peter, why dost thou quake?’
‘Oh, dear Jesus, ’tis the toothache.’
‘Rise up, Peter, thou shalt be healed,
And all those who keep these words in memory
Of my Passion shall never be troubled with toothache.’”

Charm against Ague or Fever.—As above :—

“When Our Saviour came to the Cross,
His Body did shake and tremble.
The Jews asked of Him had he the fever or ague.
He said He had neither,
‘And anyone who keepeth these words
In memory of Me shall never have either.’”

Charm to Recover a Lost Article.—Tie a piece of straw round the crook in the chimney, then take a sod from the fire and place it in the centre of the room, quench it, and the lost article will be restored to its place.

The tongs are thrown at persons going out on business, to take luck with them.

When a calf died it was the custom to cut off the fore-feet from the knee, and place them up over the door of the house, inside, to prevent the death of calves.

Some people say that if they missed a piece of a ridge

in setting the potatoes or sowing the oats, someone would die out of that house before that day twelvemonth.

There is a great objection to meeting a woman when going out to a fair or market, but especially is it unlucky to meet a red-haired one—indeed, so much so, that many people would turn back were this to happen them, as the luck would certainly be against them.

Cures for Chin-cough.—Give the child some of the milk left by a ferret after a meal ; or, Pass the child three times under and over a young foal of an ass, on which no man has ever sat ; or, Ask a rider of a piebald horse for a remedy (which will be a certain cure, whatever it is).

Cures for Warts.—Catch a black snail (which must be chanced upon), rub the wart with it, then impale the snail upon a blackthorn, and as it withers away the wart will die ; or, Chance on a stone with a sup of water in it, and bathe the wart with the water.

Cure for a Thorn.—A fox's tongue, if laid on the place, will draw a thorn.

The Evil.—The seventh boy in a family of boys is held to have the power of curing the King's Evil, if the midwife at his birth places a worm in his hand ; the hand, when the boy grows up, being passed over the place affected. The idea is that "the evil" is caused by a worm. The rope a man has been hanged with is also efficacious in cases of the evil.

The Evil-eye or Ill-eye.—Cause : If a child has been weaned, and again given the breast, the people say it will have an ill-eye.

Cure for a Beast overlooked.—Burn the alphabet on a shovel under its nose ; or, Burn, as above, a piece of the dress of the person who overlooked the animal.

A *darb* (pronounced dtherub) is a small "clock", or beetle, in water, which, if cattle swallow, makes them swell. This can be remedied by getting a piece of the clothes of a man named Cassidy, and burning it under the nose of the beast affected. The *galragorbh* (gaulragorroo) is a sort

of colic which attacks young heifers. It can be cured if the *first* person who sees the beast after it is seized takes his coat off and strikes it therewith nine times. Or you may make nine knots in a piece of cord, saying, as you make each knot, "That the pain may be slackened." There is also a knot called the gaulragorroo knot, by pulling the two ends of which the knot comes undone; this may be made over the back of the beast, and has a beneficial effect.

RUINED CHURCH OF COOLKIL.

Around the ruins of Coolkil a whole series of legends has gathered. This ruined church is near the shore of Lough Nacorrigea. When it was building there came fishermen from the lough one day, and the saints who were working asked them for some fish. The request was refused, upon which the builders cursed the lake, and from that time no fish were found in it until recently. A small trout is carved on a stone inside the doorway, which is pointed out as a memorial of the above. The mortar is very good and strong, and is said by the people to have been mixed with bullock's blood.¹ The ruins are protected by an invisible power, for a man who took some of the coping stones to build his house had no luck until he brought them back.

In a field near is a stone slab under the slope of the hill, said to have been used as an altar in the days of persecution. A bush beside it is covered with rags tied thereon, though the practice of performing "stations" there has died out. There is a St. Patrick's Well close by. Stories are told of a man who was crippled for cutting bushes near the altar, and of another who was blinded in one eye for doing the same at a fort near the lough. This fort is a favourite pastime ground of the fairies, and it is said that the dew never rests on the grass there, on account of the

¹ This idea of bullock's blood strengthening mortar appears to be current in the district.

dancing which is carried on. As the people say, "if ten men and ten dogs were chasing ten hares they wouldn't take the dew off more." A horse, if left in the field in which the fort is situated, is often so dead tired that it cannot be used next morning, having been over-ridden by the "good people" in their midnight frolics. In another field hard by is a very fine cromlech, and a second, broken down, is called "Labby Ermaid" (*i.e.*, Diarmuid's Bed), a name commonly given by the peasantry to cromlechs, which were associated with the Finn legend of the Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne. I say "were", for, so far as I can ascertain, the story has now completely died out in the district, save the above name, which the people could not explain.

Such is, in brief, the story of the place as told by Mr. John Dogherty, farmer, of Drumany, who lives not far from the ruins of the church. It is difficult to account for the presence of such a building in such a spot, though doubtless the population has shifted considerably of late years. The people say that the saints who built these churches never knew themselves where the next one was to be erected, but that a little bird always appeared and took up some of the mortar in its beak, and, flying slowly away, left it down on the spot selected for the new building.

The story goes that when the Abbey at Fenagh was finished, the little bird appeared and went off towards Cloone. The men followed in single file within speaking distance from one another, as was the custom. As they approached Cloone the first man discovered he had left some of his tools behind at Fenagh, so, without taking his eyes off the bird, he called back to the man behind him, and the message was sent on this way to the last man who was just leaving Fenagh, and he brought the tools with him.

In bringing these notes to a conclusion, it will be as well to state that they are all derived from the peasantry, and I have endeavoured to put them forward here without altera-

tion, adhering as far as possible to the actual words of my informants, to all of whom I would return my best thanks. It is to be understood that those given with no name attached are generally current.

In addition to the foregoing, there also exist in the district the various legends regarding "Gobawn Saor", which I heard from Barney Whelan of Driny. The story (so well related by Croker) of the Humpback, who is cured for adding a line to the fairies' song, was also told me by several persons. Of what appear to be purely local growth, mention must be made of many anecdotes regarding a man called Cotin Deas (Handsome Coat), who is said to have been servant to Mrs. Macnamara, resident here in the early part of this century. I hope to collect all these later on, for it is just possible there may be an older substratum than would appear on first hearing them.

FOLK-TALES OF THE DISTRICT.

I have, so far, been able to write down in full, from the narrators, English versions of the following fourteen tales:—

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Whittlegaire. | } Already printed in FOLK-
LORE, vol. iv, pp. 184-194. |
| 2. Jack and the King. | |
| 3. The Glass Mountains. | |
| 4. Cul-fin, Cul-din, Cul-corrach. (A Cinderella.) | |
| 5. Cot-na-shoøg, Cot-na-coy, Fesan-na-Darach. (Three monsters.) | |
| 6. Green Yarrow and Royal John. (Three-task tale.) | |
| 7. Jack Dolan. (Carrying-eagle, etc.) | |
| 8. The Little Foal. (Helpful beast.) | |
| 9. The Little Brown Bullock. (Cinderella <i>hero</i> tale.) | |
| 10. The Golden Bird. (An underworld story.) | |
| 11. Lip o' Beard. (Similar to Kennedy's Three Crowns.) | |
| 12. Hairy. (Similar to Whittlegaire, but with heroine.) | |
| 13. The Lion, the Eagle, and the Mouse. (Helping animals.) | |

14. Bundle of Rushes. (Similar to Kennedy's Corpse-Watchers.)

The following I have also heard, and hope in due course to write down in full—at present I have only notes:—

1. Clip o' the Heel. (Cinderella *hero* tale.)
2. The Earl of Benbo.
3. Giant's Juggle and Stoneheart, a tale of the Giants' Causeway.

Two other tales, "The Steed of Bells" (printed in *Hibernian Tales*) and "Florina and the Charming King" (printed in another chap-book), are also told. Whether derived orally or from the printed sources is uncertain, but I incline towards the latter.

As a further specimen of these Englished versions of Gaelic stories I select the tale of Cul-fin, a Cinderella story, first, because Cinderella is to the front just now, and any additions to the stock from these Islands are, I suppose, welcome; and secondly, because it affords some evidence (if any were needed) of the faithfulness of Mr. Curtin's versions of the Ancient Myths and Folk-lore of Ireland.

CUL-FIN, CUL-DIN, CUL-CORRACH.

Long ago there was a poor woman, and she had three daughters, named Cul-fin, Cul-din, Cul-corrach. The two elder ones were two pretty girls, but the youngest was an ugly girl, and her sisters wouldn't let her be seen out.

One morning they found that the fire had gone out, and they couldn't get it lit anyway. So Cul-fin went round the tail of the rock and met with a little cabin, and an aged woman sitting in it. She had a little counter with scales on it before her, as though she was doing business.

"Sit down", she says; but Cul-fin said she was in a hurry, and had come for a light for her fire, which had gone out, if she could give it to her.

The old woman said she hadn't any fire there, but if she would wait while she got a light she was welcome.

On the counter were three heaps of money, one of gold, the second of silver, and the third of copper, and when the old woman went out, Cul-fin took some of the gold and silver and put it in her dress. But the witch was watching her from the outside, and she came in and told the girl she might take the light and go away.

The second morning the fire was quenched too, and as Cul-fin wouldn't go for a light this time, Cul-din had to go. The old woman told her to sit down as she told the other. Cul-din said she was in a hurry, for she wanted a light for her fire, which was quenched.

The old woman said she would fetch a light if she would wait. The gold, silver, and copper were left as before in three heaps on the counter, and when the old woman went out, Cul-din took a share of the gold and silver and hid it in her dress, and the old woman looking at her. She then came in and gave the girl a light and told her to go home.

The third morning it happened that the fire quenched again. So it came that neither of the two elder girls would go for a light, and Cul-corrach had to go for it. When she came to the little house the old woman told her to sit down.

"I'm in a hurry", said she, "and would you give me a light, as the fire has gone out?" And the old woman said she would if she'd wait while she went for it.

The three heaps of gold, silver, and copper were standing on the counter, but when the old woman was out, Cul-corrach never looked at any of them, and sat still on her stool.

The old woman came in then and asked her why she never saw her going to prayers, like the others; and she replied that her sisters wouldn't let her out, as they didn't think her handsome or good enough.

"Well", said she, "when they go to Mass on Sunday come to me the very minute they step out, that I may be able to do something for you."

So Cul-corrach came on Sunday, and the old woman dressed her in the beautifulest apparel that any lady could be seen in, and made her face beautiful too, so that she was to be admired, and she put her on a grey steed, and glass slippers on her feet. She told her, when Mass would be over, to let neither girl nor man lay hold of her, but to come back to her.

So Cul-corrach came back to her with all speed, and the steed was put up, and the girl sent home in her rough apparel again.

When the two sisters came home, their mother asked them, according to her practice, "What news?" "No news, but the beautifulest lady that could be seen was in the church, and we all admired her, and couldn't keep from watching her, and the lord's son couldn't take his eyes off her."

The Sunday after, Cul-corrach came again to the old woman, and she dressed her more admirable and more to be seen than the first Sunday, and she mounted the grey steed and away to church, the old woman telling her not to let anyone get a hand on her, but to return as fast as she could when Mass was over.

So as much as the lord's son admired her the first Sunday, he admired her more the second, and said he'd do all he could to come in with her. But Cul-corrach went back to the old woman directly the service was over, and the steed was put up, and she returned home in her rough clothes. The mother asked the two daughters when they came, "What news?" and they said the lady was at church again, and that everyone couldn't take their eyes off her, and the lord's son would have her, no matter how he travelled.

The third Sunday Cul-corrach went to the old woman, and if she dressed her finely the other two Sundays, it was more beautiful and more to be seen she dressed her that day, and the lord's son took good care he kneeled by the door for fear she'd go out without his getting a hold on

her. So, as she jumped on the steed, he whipped off one of her glass slippers, and she came home in great concern, and told the old woman how she lost the slipper, but she said it made no matter.

Then the lord put up that whoever it was that the slipper would fit, be they rich or poor, or who they were, that he'd marry her, and he brought his men round to see every girl through all his country ; but though he travelled everywhere he could find none whom the slipper would fit. At last he came to the cabin where the old widow was and her daughters, but the slipper would not fit either Cul-fin or Cul-din.

Cul-corrach was hid in the room, and she up and said, "Perhaps the slipper would fit me."

The young men asked who was in the room, and the two girls denied there was anyone ; but the men said there was someone there, and they must see her, be she who she was.

As soon as Cul-corrach was brought up the slipper was left on the floor, for no one would go to her to put it on, as she was so ugly, but as soon as she went up near the slipper it hopped on to her foot. Then they were all surprised, and the sisters were nearly out of their mind, and the lord's son said she was the one the slipper belonged to, and he would have her for his bride.

Cul-corrach asked for half an hour before he would see her again, and she went to the old women, who dressed her in the dress she wore the first Sunday ; and when she returned, they all allowed she was the lady that was at the church. She begged their pardon for a little while again, and went to the old woman, who dressed her in the second Sunday's dress ; and the third time she asked to go out, and said she would go out no more. So the third time she came back in the grandest dress that she had worn the third Sunday, and with the steed, and, when she came to the door, she up on the steed. The old mother was excited to see her in her dress, but her sisters said to one another

that they would do their utmost to put her to death for getting such a noble lord. The old woman had told her to sit on the steed, and not to go in the lord's chariot on the journey, so Cul-corrach told the lord he must either take another steed or go in his chariot, and do his best to keep up with her, and she'd show she was nobler blood than he thought.

When they came to the lord's castle there was great preparation, for the like of it was never seen in that country before.

When Cul-corrach came near to her first birth, her eldest sister, Cul-fin, came to be near her, and she took the child when he was born and threw him out on the heap behind the castle. But the herdsman was out that day, and saw the infant put out, and he took the child, for his own wife had no family.

What had the sister put but a little cat in the infant's place, and when the lord came in to see his child it was a young kitten was rolled up and shown to him.

Said he, "Why, why, that's a shame; it's bad enough, but it might be worse!"

Soon after Cul-fin went home, and the two sisters were plotting what they could do next time. So Cul-fin came back the next time, and when the child was born she put it out again, and put a little pup in the child's place; and when the lord came in and saw it was a young pup, he said, "Fy, fy, that is bad; but it might be worse!" The herdsman had seen the child put out, and he took it home, so he had the two children, and the neighbours said he was doing well; but, indeed, it was the lord's children he was getting.

The sisters plotted again, that it was no use getting on that way, for the lord would never do anything to Cul-corrach. So they said they'd try the third time, and when the child was born they sent the nurse away, saying that Cul-fin was fit to mind her sister. Then they put a young pig in the child's place, and the lord said it was bad indeed,

but yet it might be worse ; for he was a good-natured man, and didn't like to hurt his wife's feelings.

The child was put out as before, and the herdsman found it and brought it home to his wife, and his wife grumbled ; but he said, "No matter, though they're not your own, you'll be paid for it yet."

Cul-corrach got sick when she saw all that was done to her, and the two sisters took her, unknown to the lord, in her bed and night-dress as she was, to the brink of the sea, but it was a bed of phoenix feathers she had, and it could not sink. The herdsman was by the sea-shore that day, and he saw the beautiful lady on the bed, sailing on the brink of the sea, and he took her in and asked what did it mean, and what was it about. Cul-corrach said it was her sisters had put her there, and she didn't know what it was for, and that the lord would be looking for her. Cul-fin, however, went and lay in the lord's bed, and let on she was sick. The lord admired her, and thought it might be his wife, as sickness might change her, but yet he scarcely knew her. That evening he met the herdsman out, who asked him how his mistress did, and the lord said, "Very poorly." The herdsman asked him had he his wife at all, and the lord said, "To be sure I have." Then the herdsman brought the lord to his house, and there was Cul-corrach, and he said, "Isn't that your wife?" And he said it was. Then he told the lord how that the two sisters had put her out to drown, and that he had got her floating on the sea, as the phoenix feathers could not let her drown.

"What became of your three children?" said he, and the lord was ashamed to tell him ; but the herdsman said he might, as he knew how everything happened.

Says he to the lord's wife, "How many births had you?" and she said, "Three." Then he brought down the three boys, and said, "There are your three children" ; and the lord admired how it was. The herdsman told him he was at the back of the yard and saw the children thrown out, and had taken them home.

So the lord and his lady came home in great splendour, and their three sons with them; and they found the old woman, who first gave Cul-corrach the dresses, had come to see her, and she said she was coming to do wrong right, only the lord had found it out.

"Now", says she, "I'll not go back till Cul-fin is killed, for she is the cause of all this." So Cul-fin was put to death.

The old woman brought the lord's wife and the three children on a visit to her cabin in a chariot, and kept them for a month, till the lord came for them, as was appointed. She gave each of the three sons as much gold as they could want, and she made a present of the chariot and the grey steed to Cul-corrach.

"Good-bye now", says she, "for you may never see me again, and I wish you and your lord all sorts of happiness to live together."

So they went home, and if they didn't live happy—that we may!

NOTES.

Source, etc.—I heard this tale from Mrs. Whelan, wife of Barney Whelan of Driny townland, co. Leitrim, who heard it many years ago from one Peter Gray of Ballyfermoy, in co. Roscommon, "who had very good Irish." He was an old man then, and is, alas! now dead. I have given it here word for word as told me by the narrator. It follows very closely Mr. Curtin's story of "Fair, Brown, and Trembling", but the opening here is an addition thereto, and motivates the old woman's befriending of the heroine. The fire-fetching commencement is found in an Icelandic variant (No. 273 in Miss Cox's book). The three heaps of gold, silver, and copper may be compared with the gold, silver, and copper forests of some variants.

The changelings placed in the child's cradle are an addition to Curtin's version. They are to be found in one of Grimm's variants from Mecklenburg (see note 26 in *Cinderella*, Miss M. R. Cox), and in several early legends.

The repaying of the faithful herd is forgotten here, and probably Mrs. Whelan may have omitted other incidents, as she only heard Gray tell the tale once, and then after a long day's work.

Cul-fin (Cul-fion) = fair-haired. Cul-din (genitive of Cul-donn) = brown-haired. Cul-corrach (Cul-carrach) = mangy or scabby-head. Cull = the poll in this connection.

Although the name is not used in this tale, it is interesting to observe that in Kiltubbrid a child (or any person) who is fond of sitting close by the fire is called "Ashypet".

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 18th, 1894.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. G. Laurence Gomme, F.S.A.) in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new members was announced, viz.: Mr. F. L. Gardner, M. Camille de Brix, Mr. C. Nicholson, Mr. J. S. Carpenter, and the Leicester Permanent Library.

Mr. H. Raynbird, junior, exhibited a number of Kolarian charms, implements, tools, and models, and explained their use. At the conclusion of his remarks he announced his intention of offering the greater number of his exhibits as a donation to the proposed museum, an announcement which was received with applause.

Mr. Leland L. Duncan exhibited a straw dress, illustrative of a wedding custom in co. Leitrim, and explained its use.

Prof. Haddon then gave his lecture on "The Western Folk of Ireland and their Lore," which was illustrated by Lantern Slides; and, at the conclusion of his lecture, was, on the motion of the President, accorded a hearty vote of thanks.

A paper by Mr. Leland L. Duncan, entitled "More Folklore Gleanings from co. Leitrim," was also read (*supra* pp. 177-210).

WEDNESDAY, MAY 23rd, 1894.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. G. Laurence Gomme, F.S.A.) in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new members was announced, viz.: Mr. Hew Morrison, Librarian of the Edinburgh Public Library, Mr. J. S. E. Walker, and the Brighton Town Council.

The following book was laid upon the table, viz., "English Singing Games," by Mrs. Gomme, presented by Mr. Nutt.

Mr. Ordish exhibited a Sword Dancer's Dress, sent him by Miss Edleston of Gainsford, near Darlington, and read a short note by that lady, giving an account of the Sword Dancers' Exhibition, and produced a copy of their song.

Mr. F. Sessions read a paper entitled "The Omens of the Thugs, and their Relation to European Folk-lore of Birds and Beasts", and a discussion followed, in which Mr. Baverstock, Mr. Nutt, Mr. Kitts, Dr. Gaster, Dr. Gregor, Mr. Kirby, Mr. Hartland, and the President took part. Mr. Sessions having replied to the criticisms on his paper, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to him on the motion of the President.

Papers on "Water and Well-Worship", by Mr. A. W. Moore, M.A., and on the "Classification of the Proverbs and Sayings of the Isle of Man", by Mr. G. W. Wood, F.I.C., were also read (see *infra*, pp. 212, 229).

WATER AND WELL-WORSHIP IN MAN.

BY A. W. MOORE, M.A.

I have entitled my paper "Water and Well-Worship", as I am persuaded that the superstitious use of wells in Man, which cannot be said to be quite extinct even now, had its origin in the worship of water generally, and I think that I can show that this has been the case from still existing superstitions. Water, like earth and fire, was doubtless once worshipped as an animate being having powers which it might exercise either beneficially or the reverse, and it was therefore considered desirable to propitiate it by adoration. One of the powers possessed by it when in the form of a river was that of stopping diseases from crossing it, as is shown by the following story found among the MSS. of the late Robert Gawne of the Rowany, parish of Rushen :—

Small-pox, called in Manx *Yn Vreac* ("The Spotted One"), being personified in the ghostly likeness of a man, met a member of a well-known insular family on the bank of the Peel river, near St. John's, and, being unable to cross, asked him if he would carry him over, promising that, if he did so, neither he nor any member of his family should ever be afflicted with the disease in question. The man complied with his request, and it fell out as "Small-pox" had promised. This meeting with "Small-pox" occurred at a time when the population of the island was decimated at short intervals by that fell disease.

Running water was also supposed to be capable of preventing the passage of spirits and ghosts. Was it not on account of this superstition that the dead in Celtic countries were formerly so frequently buried in islands? Thus, in Man, the islet of St. Patrick, off Peel, was once a favourite place of sepulture. It is significant, too, of the prevalence of this superstition that it was supposed that the Manx fairies were in the habit of celebrating the obsequies of any

good person on a stone in the middle of a lake.¹ I would also call attention to the fact that some of the graveyards which surround the ancient *kecills* are artificially raised, and are surrounded with a ditch, into which water would naturally fall.² An instance of the superstition that spirits could not cross running water was communicated to Mr. Roeder in 1883 :—"The ghost of a lady in silk walks in the mountain passes in the evening time. As soon as you go after her, and she comes to the water or running brook, she changes ; she cannot go on, as she cannot pass."

As water was supposed to be capable of stopping the passage of diseases, we need not be surprised at its also being supposed to be capable of curing them ; and perhaps the water of some of the sacred wells in Man has an actual sanative value, though, as will be seen later, that of one of the most famous of them has none. Quite apart, however, from any sanative qualities, there was a belief in the magical power of water generally. "Even sea-water", writes Professor Rhys with reference to the Isle of Man, "was believed to have considerable virtues if you washed in it while the books were open at church (*i.e.*, during service), as I was told by a woman who had many years ago repeatedly taken her own sister to divers wells and to the sea during the service on Sunday, in order to have her eyes cured of their chronic weakness."³

Among these magical powers of water was that of being a vehicle for divination. Thus, at Hollantide, girls obtained information about their future husbands by filling their mouths with water, holding a pinch of salt in each hand, and then betaking themselves to the next neighbour's house but one. They then listened through the keyhole to the conversation, and the first name mentioned would be that of their future husband. On the same eve also, as

¹ *Folk-Lore of the Isle of Man*, p. 40.

² For instance. *Kecill Lingán*, in the parish of Marown.

³ *FOLK-LORE*, vol. ii, pp. 307-8.

well as on the last night of the year, ivy leaves marked with the names of a family were put into water, and if one of the leaves withered, it was supposed that the person whose name was on it would die before the end of the year.¹ Of similar significance, as regards the powers of water, was the use of it in a bowl for the purposes of divination by a notorious witch, who prophesied that the herring fleet would never return.² As the prophecy came true, the witch was put to death in the usual manner by being rolled down the steep side of Slieauwhallian in a spiked barrel.³ By the use of water, too, it was supposed to be possible to divine who was a witch, and who was not, as the witch would float, while she who had been falsely accused of practising witchcraft would sink.⁴ Not only could water detect a witch, but it had also the quite distinct function of contributing to the making of a witch, as will be seen from the annexed story, told to my informant by a man still living, who said that he had it from the victim herself about the year 1875, when she was an old woman :—

An old crone, who had practised witchcraft and charms during a great part of her life, had grown very feeble, and so, being wishful to endow her daughter with her magical knowledge, made her go through the following performance. A white sheet was laid on the floor, and beside it was placed a tub of clean water. The girl was made to undress and go into the water, and, after thoroughly washing herself, to get out and wrap herself in the sheet. While she stood in the sheet she had to repeat after her mother a number of words, the exact nature of which, as she was in an abject state of terror, she had forgotten, only remarking that their general purport was that she swore to give up all belief in the Almighty's power, and to trust in that of the Evil One instead. The mother died

¹ *Folk-Lore of the Isle of Man*, pp. 125 and 140.

² *Notes and Queries*, No. 341, 1852.

³ *Folk-Lore of the Isle of Man*, p. 80.

⁴ *Ibid.*

soon afterwards, but the girl made no attempt to avail herself of the attributes with which she was supposed to have been endowed.¹

Water had yet another connexion with witches, *i.e.*, that of being used as a protection against them. For it was supposed that washing the face in dew on May morning rendered their hostilities innocuous.² It is possible, too, that this supposed protective power of water rendered the rite of baptism acceptable to the converts from paganism as a safeguard against the "evil eye".³ In the same way, also, the Church seems to have persuaded them that it was equally efficacious against their abduction by fairies,³ and, at a much later date, it was able to convince the people that the sprinkling of water on the places haunted by fairies would suffice to drive them away.⁴ I believe also that the practice of putting crocks of water out for the fairies at night arose from the persuasion that not only would it propitiate them, but that it would guard the occupants of the house from them.⁵

And now, coming to the superstitious use of well-water in particular, it may, I think, be reasonably conjectured that it was the employment of water in baptism, at the time when paganism was giving way to Christianity, that made the worship of water in wells more fashionable than the worship of river or sea-water. For the *keeills*, or cells, of the ancient recluses, who lived in Man during the dawn of Christianity there, were invariably near a well, whence they would draw water both for their own consumption and for baptising those who came to them for that purpose. And it was, doubtless, part of their policy to place their cell close to a well which had hitherto been made use of in the performance of pagan rites, so that the memory of the old beliefs might be obliterated by the practice of the

¹ J. C. (Douglas).

² *Folk-Lore of the Isle of Man*, p. 111.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 156-7.

⁴ Robertson, *History of the Isle of Man* (1798), p. 198.

⁵ *Folk-Lore of the Isle of Man*, p. 34.

new.¹ It is probable, too, that the old Manx name of the Epiphany, *Lail Chibbyrt Ushtey* ("Feast-day of the Water Well") may record a similar attempt on the part of the Church to interfere with pagan observances on the last day of the Saturnalia, by celebrating the baptism of Christ by a ceremonial visit to the sacred wells. These attempts, however, to turn a pagan ceremonial into a Christian one have not been successful, as the very wells which in Man, as in Ireland, were named after Christian saints, and were probably visited on the festivals of these saints, have been, till quite recently, resorted to at a festival connected with pagan and not with Christian rites. This festival, which was formerly kept on the first of August, is called *Laa Lhuanys*, or *Laa Lhunys* ("Lhuanys's Day"), and was probably originally associated with the Celtic god Lug, who, as he was said to have been brought up at the court of Manannan, the eponymous ruler of Man, was closely connected with the mythical history of that island.² He was a divinity, corresponding partly to Hermes and partly to Apollo. In Ireland, his festival, called the *Lug-Nassad*, or the wedding of Lug, was "the great event of the summer half of the year, which extended from the Kalends of May to the Kalends of winter. The Celtic year was more thermometric than astronomical, and the *Lug-Nassad* was, so to say, its summer solstice."³ A fair, till recently held on this day both in Man and Ireland, at which games took place, is, together with the well-visiting, all that remains of this festival within living memory. As regards the rites practised at the well-visiting, it is clear that the Manx Church, in the 17th and 18th centuries, fully recognised their pagan tendency, as it attempted, though in vain, to put an end to them.⁴ It is, however, probable that the alteration

¹ We know that St. Patrick is said to have done this in Ireland, a country with which Man was then closely connected.

² Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1886, p. 397.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 419.

⁴ For proof of this, see *Folk-Lore of the Isle of Man*, p. 121.

of the date of this festival from the first day of August to the first Sunday in that month,¹ called in Manx *yn chie'd Doonagh ayns ouyr* ("the first Sunday in harvest"²), was due to ecclesiastical influence, which was thus exercised with a view of giving it a semi-religious character.

Let us now inquire what were the objects for which the Manx visited these wells, by what ritual they sought to attain these objects, and what was the meaning of this ritual. The objects were mainly the cure of diseases, but also the acquiring of charms for protection against witches and fairies, and, generally, the securing good luck. The usual ritual³ was to walk round the wells one or more times sunways, to drink the water, to wet a fragment of their clothing with it, and to attach this fragment to any tree or bush that happened to be near the wells. Then to drop pins, pebbles,⁴ beads, or buttons into them, and to repeat a prayer in which they mentioned their ailments. Such was the ritual for the cure of diseases. When the wells were visited for the other purposes mentioned, the only difference in the ritual was that the rags were dispensed with. As regards its meaning, it may be considered certain that, though the rags were occasionally offerings, they were not so in all cases, but were "vehicles of the diseases which the patients communicate to them when they spit the well-water from their mouths".⁵ This view is strengthened by the fact that it was supposed that anyone who was rash enough to take away a rag thus deposited would be sure to catch the disease communicated to it by the person who left it. It was thought that when the rag had rotted away the disease would

¹ After the change of the calendar in 1752, to the first Sunday after the 12th of August.

² The people, however, as we shall see later, spoiled this scheme by visiting the wells during church-time.

³ But it varied somewhat at different wells.

⁴ The pebbles were sometimes dropped near, instead of in, the wells.

⁵ Rhys, *FOLK-LORE*, vol. iii, p. 76.

depart. In fact, the process of reasoning was the same as with regard to many charms. Thus, for instance, a penny was rubbed on fat bacon and then on a wart; after this the bacon was buried, and it was supposed that by the time it decayed the wart would be cured.¹ As regards the pins, coins, beads, and buttons, I believe that they also were formerly vehicles of disease, but they are now invariably considered to be offerings. But, with reference to the practice of dropping pebbles into or near the wells,² it should also be borne in mind that it was probably once believed that the pebbles themselves were endowed with curative properties, so that they perhaps added to the supposed efficacy of the wells.

The pebbles found in or near Manx wells are almost invariably white, and, in connexion with this fact, some other uses of white pebbles may be mentioned, as a reference to them may lead to some elucidation of the question of their significance. It was by immersing a white pebble in water that St. Columba, who has left so many traces of his influence in Man, is said to have performed numerous marvellous cures.³ White pebbles have been found⁴ in the churchyards of the parishes of Bride and Maughold, and in the churchyard of the old *Keeill*, called Kilkellan, in the parish of Lonan, at from two or three feet below the present level of the ground. These are the only churchyards which have been examined with a view of finding pebbles, but it is probable that

¹ Another instance: A piece of woollen thread must be procured, and a knot tied upon it to represent each individual wart. It must then be thrown away or buried in some place that the patient is ignorant of, and, as the thread rots, the warts will die away.

² When thrown near the well, the pebbles were perhaps intended as offerings only. Mr. G. F. Black, in his "Scottish Charms and Amulets", gives instances of water being endowed with curative powers by pebbles being thrown into it. (See *Proceedings of Soc. o Ant. of Scotland* (1893), pp. 433-526.

³ Adamnan, *Life of St. Columba*, Lib. II, cap. xxiv.

⁴ By the Rev. S. N. Harrison.

they exist in all the older churchyards in the island. In some of the tumuli of the Bronze Age, similar pebbles, but of a larger size,¹ have been found ranged round the urns containing the ashes of the deceased.² No Manx fishermen, at the present day, will go to sea with a white stone in his boat, as he believes that it will bring ill luck upon him. Here the influence of the white stone or pebble is noxious instead of efficacious.

Coming now to the pins, I may remark that they seem invariably to have been thrown into the wells, and not stuck into the adjacent trees; and, in connexion with this fact, it is noticeable that there is no trace of the use of the wells for purposes detrimental to others, as is not unusual elsewhere. This may be regarded as a certain proof of the superior amiability of the Manx people!

There was one further object for which wells in Man were once visited—*i.e.*, for raising a wind; but this superstition has quite passed out of memory, and is only known from a solitary entry in the insular records, in the year 1658. From this it would appear that a certain Elizabeth Black had been accused of emptying “a springing well dry for to obtain a favourable winde”. When this charge was investigated by the court, in which the Governor presided, several witnesses deposed to the emptying of the well, and to the supposition that the said Elizabeth Black had done it, though no one had seen her so occupied. She, however, “utterly denied” the truth of these allegations, but was, nevertheless, fined “for such a folly tendinge to charminge, witchcraft, or scorcery”.³

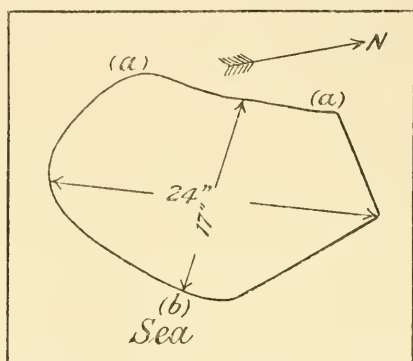
Having thus discussed the usual ritual practised at the wells generally, I will now briefly describe each of the

¹ As large as a hen's or goose's egg, but, occasionally, much larger.

² By Mr. P. M. C. Kermode, who has opened a number of the Manx tumuli. Rough, broken bits of quartz stone, red or white in colour, are also found in the tumuli. See “The Meayll Stone Circle”, P. M. C. Kermode, in *The Illustrated Archaeologist*, vol. ii, No. 5, p. 3.

³ *Liber Scaccarii*.

more famous wells and the special ritual practised at each of them. The best known well is that dedicated to St. Maughold, one of the earliest Manx saints, which is situate 723 yards N.N.W. of the extreme point of the headland of that name, and 430 yards N.E. of the parish church,¹ also called after the same saint. It is about half-way down the steep grassy slope of the headland, being about 120 feet above mean sea level, and 180 feet distant from the sea. It consists of a small and probably artificial cistern of an irregular pentagonal shape (see sketch), measuring



24 inches from the base to the apex, 17 inches across, and about 5 inches deep. Into this cistern water slowly oozes from the natural cliff at (a), and overflows at (b). It is covered in on the north, south, and west, partly by slabs of slate stone, artificially erected, and partly by the natural rocks, which form a canopy about 3 feet high above the well and project some 2 feet to the north and south of it, but not beyond its eastern edge. Between this edge and the sea an artificial platform, about 3 feet square, has been made of slate slabs, which are now overgrown with grass. Without it, access to the well would be difficult, as, so steep is the slope, a false step would probably cause the person making it to roll into the sea. It was this slope between the sea and the well which,

¹ Maughold Church is 215 feet above mean sea level.

according to Manx tradition, St. Maughold's horse, on which he had crossed over from Ireland, cleared at one bound, after a vigorous application of the saint's spurs, landing on his knee on the site of the well, and so making the cistern or hollow to which I have referred. From this hollow, water at once gushed forth, and, being drunk by the saint and his horse, has, since then, been efficacious for the cure of all diseases. This tradition, which was told to Sir George Head, who visited the island in 1832, by a peasant living in the parish of Maughold, is still remembered in the neighbourhood.¹

Close by the well there is said to have been a chair² on which the saint was wont to sit, but it has long since disappeared. Barren women used to sit in it and drink a glass of the water from the well, which was supposed to have the power of rendering them prolific; but, as Sacheverell, writing in 1702, shrewdly remarked, it "probably has lost much of its ancient virtue since the priests, who had the custody of it, have been discontinued".³ The well, however, continued to be largely visited, for as late as 1832 "a multitude of people from all parts"⁴ flocked to it on the first Sunday in harvest. As regards the annual number of visitants since that time, but little is known. A local guide-book, written in 1860, speaks of the practice of visiting the well as "not obsolete";⁵ but the

¹ *Continuation of a Home Tour*, p. 70 (1837). Sir G. Head's peasant added the remarkable information that all the particulars of the above-mentioned tradition were to be gathered from the cross at the entrance to the churchyard; but, as this cross, which dates from the 14th century, has no inscription, the only help it gives to such a supposition is the fact that the "three legs of Man" on it are furnished with spurs. It may be mentioned that the *Book of Armagh* gives St. Maughold a boat to cross the channel in (see *Folk-Lore of the Isle of Man*, p. 22), but Manx tradition scorns so prosaic a method of transit! It will be seen later that St. Patrick also came to Man on horseback.

² Sacheverell's *Survey of the Isle of Man*, Manx Society's Publications, vol. i, p. 18.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Continuation of a Home Tour*, p. 70. ⁵ Kneale's *Guide*, p. 151.

present Vicar¹ assures me that in his time, fifteen years, he has not known the well to be visited for any other reason than curiosity. As, however, it is quite possible to visit this secluded spot without anyone being aware of it, I doubt this being the case. There is evidence, too, that till within the last ten years, if not at the present time, the water of this well was considered to be specially efficacious for the cure of sore eyes.² Prof. Rhys was told that, when it was applied for this purpose, it was customary, "after using it on the spot, or filling a bottle with it to take home, to drop a pin, or bead, or button into the well."³ "But", he continues, "it had its full virtue only when visited on the first Sunday of harvest, and then only during the hour the books were open at church, which, shifted back to Roman Catholic times, means doubtless the hour when the priest is engaged saying Mass."³ An old man still living in the village of Ballaugh, some eight miles from St. Maughold's Well, told Prof. Rhys that he formerly visited it on the first Sunday in harvest to wash his eyes, that people left strips of cotton, with which they washed their eyes, on the bushes⁴ close to the well, and that, if anyone picked these strips up, he or she would catch the complaints that those who had left them had been suffering from. He also stated that people at the same time dropped coins into the well, which varied in value from 1*d.* to 6*d.*, and that he himself had done so.⁵ At the date of my visit, the 28th of March in the present year, I found nothing in the well except a brass stud and a hairpin, both of very modern appearance. This is the only well in the parish of Maughold whose sanative qualities are still remembered, but Colgan⁶ gives

¹ Died since the above was written, on the 1st of June 1894.

² Its efficacy for barren women seems to have been forgotten.

³ *FOLK-LORE*, vol. ii, p. 307.

⁴ There are now no bushes near the well, but there may at the time mentioned have been a little gorse there.

⁵ MS. note from "C.", Ballaugh.

⁶ Writing in the seventeenth century, but seemingly getting his information from an old document.

the following curious account of another well in the churchyard of that parish :—" In the cemetery of St. Maughold's Church there was a sarcophagus of hollow stone, whereout a spring continually exuded in the twelfth century. This was sweet to the draught, wholesome to the taste, and it healed divers infirmities. It is added, whosoever drinketh thereof, either receiveth instant health, or instantly he dieth. And in that stone are the bones of St. Machaldus said to rest¹; yet therein is nothing found save only clear water. Though many oftentimes endeavoured to remove the stone, and especially the King of the Norici (Norwegians), who subdued the island, that he might at all times have sweet water; yet have they all failed in their attempt, for the deeper they have delved to raise up the stone, so much the more deeply was it found fixed in the earth."² There remains no tradition of the existence of such a spring in the churchyard; but I am nevertheless able, through the kindness of the Rev. S. N. Harrison, who has caused numerous excavations to be made in the churchyard, of which he has an unrivalled knowledge, to show that Colgan's information as regards the position of this spring is probably correct.

About 1830, when a grave was being dug, a sarcophagus or hollow stone, measuring 4 ft. long by 3 ft. 2 in. broad, and 10 in. deep, was discovered four yards from the north-eastern gable of the present church, but there was no spring in connexion with it. This may possibly be the sarcophagus spoken of by Colgan, and the absence of water is capable of a satisfactory explanation. For the whole churchyard before 1860 is known to have been full of water; but about that year a mine level was driven across it, which had the effect of draining it. And, as to the

¹ They are said to have been preserved till the Reformation. (*Les Petits Bollandistes; Vies des Saints*, tome V, xxv Avril, No. 1, p. 15.)

² *Trias Thaumaturga*, Sexta Vita S. Patricii, cap. cliii, pp. 98, 99, and 116.

special spring¹ mentioned by Colgan, the discovery in the present year of a drain² some eight yards north, and slightly to the west of the place where the sarcophagus was dug up, renders its existence highly probable. There are also drains to the south of this place, and in various other parts of the churchyard.

We may next notice *Chibber Undin*, or "Foundation Well", in the parish of Malew, probably so called in reference to the foundation of an ancient *keill*, or cell, close by. The following account was given to the writer, of the ritual formerly observed there: The patients who came to it took a mouthful of water, retaining it in their mouths till they had walked round the well sunways twice. They then took a piece of cloth from a garment which they were wearing, wetted it with water from the well, and hung it on a hawthorn-tree which grew there. When the cloth had rotted away the cure was supposed to be effected.³ A slight variation from this ritual has been communicated by the Rev. E. B. Savage, who was told that the rag was wetted with water from the mouth of the patient, not direct from the well. The chief virtue in this well was in promoting fertility among women, and it was especially efficacious if used on St. John's Eve. There is a well on the hill known as *Gob-y-Vollee* ("Eyebrow Point"), in the parish of Ballaugh, called *Chibbyr Lansh* (where the meaning of *lansh* is unknown), consisting of three pools, which was formerly much resorted to for the cure of sore eyes. The cure could only be effective if the patient came on Sunday, and on that day, according to Prof. Rhys, only during the time when the books were open at church.⁴

¹ The Rev. S. N. Harrison has also discovered a built-up well, 6 feet wide, at the southern end of an old building at the south-eastern corner of the churchyard.

² This drain is of stone, a foot or more in depth, 18 inches wide, and four or five feet below the surface.

³ See A. W. Moore, *Surnames and Place-Names of the Isle of Man*, p. 181.

⁴ "Manx Superstitions," *FOLK-LORE*, vol. ii, p. 307.

He had then to walk three times round each pool sunways, saying in Manx, "*Ayns enym yn Ayr, as y Vac, as y Spyrryd Noo*" ("In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost"), and to apply the water to his or her eyes. A well on *Slieau Maggle*, in the parish of Kirk Michael, had the same property and required the same observances.

On Corrin's Hill, to the south of Peel, is *Chibbyr Noo Pherick* ("St. Patrick's Well"), which is said to have first sprung forth where St. Patrick was prompted by divine inspiration to impress the sign of the cross on the ground. He blessed the well, and its water is consequently supposed to be efficacious in all sorts of diseases, and as a preservative against the wiles of witches and fairies. According to another account of this well, when St. Patrick first came to the Isle of Man, he crossed the channel on horseback, and, being pursued by a sea-monster, he put the horse up the steepest part of Corrin's Hill. On reaching the top the horse stood still, and a beautiful spring of water, at which both the saint and the horse refreshed themselves, sprang up at their feet. This spring was consequently called *Chibbyr Sheeant* ("Blessed Well"), and at it the first Christians in the island are said to have been baptised by St. Patrick.¹ It is also called *Chibbyr yn Argid* ("Well of the Silver"), from the silver coins which were thrown into it as offerings. There is another *Chibbyr Pherick* ("Patrick's Well") near Laxey, where the saint is said to have stopped to drink on account of his horse having stumbled there. It is supposed to be just as efficacious as its namesake. If people passed this well and left nothing there, it was supposed that they would not be able to find their way home. There is a well without a name on South Barrule, of marvellous health-giving properties, but they can only be enjoyed once in a lifetime, as tradition has it that the well cannot be found when sought a second time. A story is told of a man who left a stick at the well to mark the place, but on returning he could not find either the well or the stick. The stick,

¹ W. Cashen, Peel.

however, was discovered some weeks after on the shore at Port Erin, three miles away.¹

There was formerly a well at the Nunnery, near Douglas, dedicated to St. Bridget, which, said Waldron, in 1726, "has been, notwithstanding the many extraordinary properties ascribed to it, of late suffered to dry up".²

Another famous well is that of *Chibbyr Katreeney* ("Catherine's Well"), at Port Erin, where many a wonderful cure is declared to have been effected. This well is now covered by a pump. There is a second well, dedicated to the same saint, on the Colby Fair ground, about two miles inland from Port Erin, which is also renowned for the cure of diseases.

At *Chibbyr Unjin* ("Ash-tree Well"), in the parish of Marown, there is said to have been an ash-tree, formerly, on which rags were hung by those who resorted to the well. There is a well of the same name near Ballabeg, in the parish of Malew. The water of both these wells is said to be good for diseases generally.

Near Baldwin village, in the parish of Malew, is a well called *Chibbyr Uney*, which is probably a corruption of *Chibbyr Runey*, St. Runy, or Runius, being the patron saint of the parish of Marown, which was called after him. It is interesting in this connexion to note that the parish of Marown at this point projects a long narrow strip right into the parish of Braddan, seemingly for the purpose of enclosing this well in its limits, as it is only a few yards from the boundary of the two parishes. Its water is supposed to be a marvellous cure for sore eyes. An educated Manxman, now living, told the writer that it had completely cured his brother, who was nearly blind, and that he himself, when his eyes were weak, had received great benefit from it. He simply took some of the water home in a bottle to bathe his eyes, and did not condescend to go through the ordinary ritual, which consisted, as usual, in

¹ Rhys, MS. note.

² Manx Society's Publications, vol. xi, p. 46.

walking round the well, repeating the same prayer as at *Chibber Lansh*, leaving a rag, and either dropping a coin in the well, or leaving three white pebbles close to it,¹ the pebbles being the offerings of those who were too poor to put in a coin.² The Rev. E. B. Savage, who visited this well three years ago, found no rags, but there were a number of halfpence in the well, and a large pile of white pebbles close by it. He sent some of the coins and pebbles to the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford, retaining some for the proposed Manx Museum. The water of this well was most efficacious when the parson of Marown was in church on Sunday. It was on such an occasion that I visited this well in February last, and bathed a defective eye with its water, but I regret to say that the eye has not improved since then. Perhaps the failure of a cure in my case has resulted from my not having gone through the whole ritual, or, worse still, from want of faith in the efficacy of the water. That the latter was probably the true cause will appear from an analysis³ of this water, kindly taken by Mr. J. F. Terry, Public Analyst to the Manx Government, which has been submitted to Dr. Lauder Brunton, who says: "The water is a most ordinary one, and does not contain anything likely to help, even slightly, any disease of the eyes." To this he adds, somewhat wickedly: "It might, of course, be useful for a patient to go for a nice country walk and there bathe his eyes in this water." As the well is situated in one of the most beautiful and healthy districts in the island, some four miles from Douglas, and as the walk to it entails the climbing of several steep hills, there is some probability in the learned Doctor's suggestion that the patients would improve in general health, and so, perhaps,

¹ W. J. C., Braddan.

² Mr. Savage thinks that the three pebbles indicate some survival of Phallicism; but, as they prayed in the name of the Three Persons, it is more likely to be Trinitarian.

³ For analysis, see Appendix A.

in their sight also. I may mention that, since the visit of the Rev. E. B. Savage, some ardent folk-lorists have evidently been to the well, as I found that the pile of pebbles had almost disappeared.

In conclusion, I would draw attention to the fact that the accounts given of the ritual at these various wells are connected with the cure of disease only, and do not refer to the use of their water as a charm against the wiles of witches and fairies, or to secure good luck. The reason of this is that it is exceedingly difficult to obtain any information of the use of these wells for such purposes. Those who will readily confess to having resorted to them for the cure of disease will not admit that they had any other object in going to them. I am, however, quite satisfied from indirect evidence that the water of some wells which was considered efficacious for the cure of diseases, was also considered equally efficacious against witches and fairies, and that it was used in accordance with the ritual specified above till quite a recent period.

APPENDIX A.

*Analysis of One Gallon of Water taken from CHIBBER UNEY,
February 16th, 1894.*

Total solid matter	.	9.80	grains.
Volatile ¹ organic matter	.	2.80	„ (Loss by ignition)
Chlorine	.	3.00	„
Iron. Hy. traces.			
Free ammonia	.	0.007	„
Albuminoid ammonia	.	0.0098	„
Nitrates	.	0.0408	„
Oxygen absorbed in four hours	.	0.0644	„
Phosphoric acid	.	Nil.	
Total hardness	.	2.7	degrees.

¹ The residue after ignition consisted of—

Sulphuric acid	}	Iron, Prot. oxide.
Hydrochloric acid	}	Lime.
Nitric	„	} Traces. Soda.
Carbonic	„	

The water when received was bright and clear, a very pale green in colour, and contained no suspended matter. When boiled and concentrated it did not deepen in colour or smell offensive. The residue, when ignited, slightly blackened, but did not smell offensive.

(Signed) JOHN F. TERRY (Public Analyst).

ON THE CLASSIFICATION OF PROVERBS AND SAYINGS OF THE ISLE OF MAN.

BY G. W. WOOD, F.I.C.

The *Handbook of Folk-lore*, published a few years ago by your Society, led me to attempt a classification of the proverbs and sayings of the Isle of Man. In the chapter upon proverbs they are said to constitute a vast and almost unexplored field of folk-lore inquiry, and to have an important bearing upon philology, ethnology, history, and archæology, but before any scientific deductions can be drawn from them they must be "classified in groups".

Classification is never an easy matter, and I soon found that the arrangement specified in the handbook, which is given on the authority of the Rev. J. Long, although excellent in its main features, required some extension to permit a thorough and complete analysis of the Manx proverbs to be made. I have therefore introduced several additional heads of classification. Under "Anthropological" no provision had been made for man physically considered, viz., the body, food, and clothing. Under "Physical" further heads seemed to be desirable, in order to include marine and celestial bodies, and the ancient "elements" of fire and water. Besides these, many sub-heads were necessary so as to properly take in all the Manx proverbs with which I have dealt. I quite anticipate that in the case of larger collections than the present it will be necessary to still further extend the number of sub-heads. The Isle of Man constituting a "little nation" of itself, its proverbs, when complete, may be regarded as

the type of a national collection, and they possess the further merit that the list is not so long as to be unwieldy, as is the case with those of most countries. The question of their originality will be noticed later on.

The earliest printed proverbs are to be found in the *Manx Dictionary* of Archibald Cregeen, published in the year 1835. They are interspersed throughout the text, but only the Manx is given, not the English translation. This forms the most important collection extant, and appears to be the basis of all subsequent ones. Cregeen was himself a Manxman, and was in the habit of visiting the homes of the islanders for the purpose of acquiring information as to the Manx language, and in this way no doubt the proverbs were chiefly obtained by him.

The next account in order of date appears in an interesting lecture given by the Rev. T. E. Brown, M.A., when Vice-Principal of King William's College, Isle of Man. Mr. Brown is also a Manxman, and is well known as the author of the spirited poems of "Betsy Lee", "The Doctor", and others in the Anglo-Manx dialect, now made familiar to English readers. The lecture is printed in *Mona Miscellany*, forming vol. xvi of the Manx Society's publications, published in 1849. In this account only a selection is given of the more interesting of the proverbs, with a description of their meaning and national characteristics.

The third collection is in *Mona Miscellany* (second series), issued by the same Society in 1873 (vol. xxi). In this both the Manx and English versions are given. Some of the proverbs found in Cregeen are omitted in this work, several probably on account of their indelicacy.

The fourth and most recent collection of Manx proverbs is to be found in *Folk-lore of the Isle of Man*, by Mr. A. W. Moore, M.A. (1891). The author of this work has supplied a more literal, and therefore better, translation of the proverbs, but has not attempted more than a very general classification.

These are the chief printed sources from which I have derived the proverbs and sayings dealt with, but I know there are others formerly in use amongst the Manx people with which I hope hereafter to extend the accompanying list.

Joseph Train, F.S.A., author of *An Historical and Statistical Account of the Isle of Man*, writing in 1846, informs us that he "caused about 300 proverbs to be translated from the Manx language into English, expecting to discover some specimens of ancient aphoristic wisdom relating either to historical incident, local customs, or sententious maxims", but he states he found none which appeared indigenous, or that were not the common property of other nations.

Upon this point, although not agreeing with Train's conclusion, I cannot do better than quote the Rev. T. E. Brown, who says that "getting an English or Scotch equivalent for a Manx proverb does not prove that the Manx proverb is devoid of originality, for the thoughts and ideas of mankind are very similar in all nations, and the expressions of these thoughts must naturally partake of the same similarity."

Miss E. Cookson, author of *Poems from Manxland*, aptly says that "what fossils are to the geologist, customs and creeds are to the historian". In a similar sense, proverbs are now regarded by the folk-lorist as part of the great unwritten testimony of prehistoric ages. Therefore, instead of the similarity of the majority of the Manx proverbs to those of other nations rendering them unworthy of the student's notice, the reverse, I submit, is the case, inasmuch as it is part of his doctrine to prove the natural affinity of all nations to one another, and to trace the gradual evolution of civilisation from a state of savagery once common to all. Proverbs may also be the means of preserving and handing down words or customs which would otherwise have become extinct.

I have selected the following proverbs and sayings

however, which I believe to be local or peculiar to the island :—

Ta airh er cushagyn ayns shen.

There is gold on the cushags there.

("Cushag" is the Manx for ragwort, a weed very common in the island.)

Tra ta yn dooinney boght cooney lesh dooinney boght elley, ta Jee hene garaghtee.

When one poor man helps another, God himself laughs.

Tra ta'n gheay 'sy villey yiozw shiu magh yn Ghlass-ghuilley.

When the wind is in the tree you will get the Lockman.

(The "Lockman" is a sort of sheriff's officer, but the meaning of this proverb is obscure.)

Clagh ny killagh ayns kione dty hie woobar.

[May] a stone of the church [be found] in the head of thy dwelling.

(This expression was used as a curse.)

Mannagh vow cliaghtey cliaghtey, nee cliaghtey coe.

If custom be not indulged with custom, custom will weep.

As round as the Tynwald.

(Tynwald is the hill or mount from which the laws are promulgated.)

As stiff as the staff of government (applied to a person of stiff carriage).

(The Governor received a white staff of office on his appointment.)

As indifferently as the herring back-bone doth lie in the midst of the fish.

(Part of the oath of the Deemster or Judge.)

It is, however, only by a systematic analysis and classification that the full significance and bearing of proverbs can be determined, and a proper comparison made between those of different nations. This I have endeavoured to do for Manx proverbs upon the lines already indicated.

But I have gone a step further, and have classed the majority of the proverbs under two heads, a subjective and an objective head; the subjective being, of course, the sense or meaning intended to be conveyed by the proverbs, the objective the natural object which suggested it, and which served as the *simile*. For example, "As poor as a church mouse." Here poverty is the subject or idea intended to be conveyed, and the church mouse was the object in the mind of the person who first coined the expression. Some, however, do not admit of this double classification, *e.g.*, "Poor, poor for ever." In this case poverty is the only idea, both subject and object, except indeed that poverty is incurable and everlasting. But this is one of the many cases of false doctrine unfortunately to be found amongst proverbs. Others, again, may be classed under three or more heads; in these cases it will perhaps be sufficient to select the leading and most conspicuous feature.

In the majority of cases it will also be found convenient to include the idea and its antithesis under the same head, *e.g.*, friends, enemies; patience, haste; because both are frequently combined in the same proverb. In all instances where a proverb appears more than once in a list a reference should be made against each to the other heads under which the same proverb may be found. This "double entry" will facilitate the work of the student in his work of comparison by bringing all proverbs together, *i.e.*, both subjective and objective, under one head.

The latter, or objective classification, is clearly of the greater importance, as furnishing a clue to and illustrating the habits and surroundings of the people. An agricultural community would naturally employ objects connected with that industry as the basis of its proverbs, and a community dependent principally upon fishing might also be expected to have recourse to fish, the sea, etc., for illustration of its ideas.

Thus, in the case of Manx proverbs, I find frequent

mention of corn, hay, oxen, sheep, dogs, pigs, etc., and under "Fishing" are the herring, crab, lobster, sprat, dog-fish, the tides and the wind.

Other objects of most frequent occurrence are God, death, evil, the hand, house, man, poverty, pride, work, wisdom, etc.

The beauty of many of the Manx proverbs is often lost in the English translation. The rhyme is an important feature, rendering them catchy to the ear, and easily remembered. Some Manx words have no exact equivalent in English, and several of the proverbs relate to customs and institutions not familiar here. In some few cases the meaning has become obscure at the present day.

Herrings and potatoes once constituted the staple diet of the Manx peasantry. The herring justifies its importance in the frequency of its occurrence in the proverbs, but, singularly enough, I find no mention of the potato. Would it be too much to claim from this that the dates of the Manx proverbs are at least antecedent to the introduction of that useful vegetable?

It is worthy of note what frequent use Mr. Hall Caine, the eminent Manx novelist, makes of Manx proverbs in his popular works, notably *The Decmster*. They are put into the mouths of his characters in a most skilful and appropriate fashion. "Let every pig dig for herself," said Thorkell. "I'll daub grease on the rump of your fat pig no more" (p. 22).¹ "We've been going to the goat's house for wool," grunted one of them. "Aw well man, and what can you get of the cat but his skin?" growled another (p. 23). And again, "Custom must be indulged with custom, or custom will weep" (p. 29), one of the most beautiful of the Manx proverbs. Mr. Hall Caine has evidently made a special point of this, and it contributes in no small degree to the national character of his works. The same feature is to be

¹ First edition (3 vols.), 1887.

observed in his latest work, *The Manxman*, now issuing from the press.

I have drawn up the following table to facilitate the analysis and classification of proverbs generally, which I hope may prove acceptable and useful. An index to the objects which occur in Manx proverbs is appended.

TABLE for the Scientific Classification of Proverbs, arranged upon the lines laid down in the "*Handbook of Folk-Lore*".

By G. W. WOOD.

I. ANTHROPO- LOGICAL.	(a) MAN—PHYSICAL .	{	1. The Body. 2. Food—Eating and Drinking. 3. Clothing.
	(b) NATURAL PROPERTIES.	{	4. Death. 5. Health, Disease. 6. Hunger. 7. Love. 8. Youth, Age.
	(c) LANGUAGE . . .		9. Language.
	(d) FAITH . . .	{	10. God. 11. Devil. 12. The Scriptures.
	(e) SUPERSTITION . .		13. Superstitions.
	(f) CUSTOM . . .		14. Customs.
	(g) ETHICS. . . .	{	15. Caution and Prudence. 16. Chastity. 17. Concord, Strife. 18. Constancy. 19. Contamination and Infection. 20. Courage, Fear. 21. Ethics and general. 22. Envy. 23. Faith, Scepticism. 24. Goodness, Evil and Evil-doing. 25. Gratitude. 26. Happiness, Misery. 27. Hope, Disappointment. 28. Imposture and Lying. 28*. Independence. 29. Industry, Idleness. 30. Kindness, Cruelty. 31. Knowledge, Ignorance. 32. Liberality, Selfishness. 33. Moderation, Gluttony. 34. Modesty, Pride, and Boasting. 35. Opportunity and Punctuality. 36. Patience, Haste. 37. Wisdom, Folly.

I. ANTHROPO- LOGICAL (<i>continued</i>).	{ (k) INSTITUTIONS (SECULAR) .	{ 38. Classes in Society. 39. Co-operation. 40. Commerce (General). 41. Family Relations (other than Parents and Children). 42. Friends, Enemies. 43. House and Home. 44. Landlord, Peasant. 45. Master, Servant. 46. Marriage and Courtship. 47. Parents and Children. 48. Riches and Possessions, Poverty and Alms. 49. Social Life. 50. Sports and the Chase. 51. Thrift, Waste. 52. Trades. 53. Village System, 54. War. 55. Widows. 56. Womankind. 57. Work.
II. POLITICAL, JUDICIAL.	{ (i) LEGISLATION . . .	{ 60*. Bureaucracy. 61. Government and Legislation. 62. Rulers.
	{ (j) LAW . . .	{ 63. Justice. 64. Laws.
	{ (k) CRIMES . . .	{ 65. Crimes. 66. Punishments.
	{ (l) JUDICIAL . . .	{ 66*. Judges. 67. Judicial Ceremonies.
III. PHYSICAL .	{ (m) METEOROLOGICAL, ASTROLOGICAL.	{ 68. Sorcery and Magic. 69. Superstitions. 70. Weather Wisdom.
	{ (n) MEDICINAL . . .	{ 71. Doctors. 72. Medicine.
	{ (o) INDUSTRIAL . . .	{ 73. Industrial Objects.
	{ (p) RURAL . . .	{ 74. Agriculture. 75. Country Objects. 76. Natural History— A. Animals. B. Birds. C. Fish. D. Insects. E. Plants.
	{ (q) MARINE . . .	{ 77. The Sea. 78. Ships. 78*. Fishing.
	{ (r) "THE ELEMENTS".	{ 79. Earth. 80. Air. 81. Fire. 82. Water.
	{ (s) CELESTIAL . . .	{ 83. Sun. 84. Moon. 85. Stars.

IV. HISTORICAL.	{	(t) CHRONOLOGICAL .	{	86. Chronology.
				87. Day and Night.
				88. Holy Days.
				89. Seasons.
		(u) TOPOGRAPHICAL .		90. Places.
		(v) ETHNOGRAPHIC .	{	91. Nationality.
				92. Races.
		(w) PERSONAL . . .		93. Persons.

NOTE.—Judges and Doctors, although strictly falling under the head “Anthropological”, are for convenience classified otherwise as above.

DETAILS.

I.—THE BODY AND ITS ATTRIBUTES.

1. *Faggys ta my lheiney, agh ny sniessey ta my chrackan* = Near is my shirt, but nearer is my skin (*see Clothing and Selfishness*).
2. *Ta craplag smoo ayns dty hoyn nish na va ro'ee* = There is a wrinkle more in thy posterior now than there was before.
3. *Freayl y craue glass* = Keeping the bone green (*see Health*).
4. *Ta chengey ny host ny share na olk y ghra* = A silent tongue is better than evil speaking (*see Evil*).
5. *Ta juill ny s'chee na ushtey* = Blood is thicker than water (*see Water*).
6. *Sniessey yn uillin na yn doarn* = The elbow is nearer than the fist.
7. *Ta cree dooie ny share na kione croutagh* = A kind heart is better than a crafty head (*see Kindness and Imposture*).
8. *Easht lesh dagh cleaysh, eisht jean briwens* = Listen with each ear, then do judgment (*see Judges*).
9. *Cre'n chluic ta 'sy hoyn* = What a jerk in his posterior.¹
10. *Chengey lhiam, chengey lhiat* = Tongue with me, tongue with thee² (*see Inconstancy*).

¹ Said of a conceited person.

² Said of an inconstant person.

11. *Guilley smuggagh, dooinney glen,
Inneen smuggagh, sluht dy ven =*
A snotty boy, a clean man,
A snotty girl, a slut of a woman (*see* Womankind).
12. *Tra scuirrys y laue dy choyrt, scuirrys y veeal dy voylley =*
When the hand ceases to give, the tongue will cease to
praise (*see* Poverty).
13. *Voish y laue gys y veeal =* From the hand to the mouth.
14. *Soddag chamm, bolg jeeragh =* Crooked bannock, straight
belly (*see* Food).
15. *Ta lane caillit eddyr y laue as y veeal =* 'There's much lost
between the hand and the mouth (*see* Food).
16. *Ass shillee, ass smooiinaghtyn =* Out of sight, out of memory
(or mind).
17. *Cha vel fer erbee cha bouyr, as eshyn nagh jean clashtyn =*
There is no one so deaf, as he who will not hear.
18. He is as fat as a puffin (*see* Birds).
19. *Sniessey yn uillin na yn cloan =* Nearer [is] the elbow than
the children (*see* Selfishness and Children).
20. *Cha vow laue ny haaue veg =* The idle hand gets nothing
(*see* Idleness).
21. *Kione mooar er y veggan cheilley, as kione beg gyn veg edyr ;
towse cheilley rish =* A great head with little wit, and a
little head without any; measure by wit (*see* Wisdom).
22. *Ta dty lhiasagh dty ghoarn =* Thy recompense is thy fist
(*see* Independence).
23. *Eddyr daa stoyl ta'n toyn er laare =* Between two stools the
posterior is on the floor (*see* House, etc.).
24. *T'eh feer aasagh cur fuill ass kione carragh =* It is very
easy to make a scabby head bleed (*see* Health and
Disease).
- **Tasht seose cour ny cassyn gorley =* Store up for bad feet,
i.e., for the time when they become decrepit (*see* Thrift).

2.—FOOD, EATING AND DRINKING.

25. *Un eam gys bee as jees gys obbyr =* One call to food and two
to work (*see* Work).
26. *Ta bee eeit jarroodit =* Eaten food is forgotten (*see*
Gratitude).

27. *Ta fooillagh naareydagh ny smelley na ee scammyltagh* = Shameful leaving is worse than shameful eating (*see Waste*).
28. *Myr sniessey da'n chraue s'miljey yn eill* = The nearer to the bone the sweeter the flesh.
29. *Gien nonney gortey* = Feast or famine.
30. *Share goll dy thie fegooish shibber na girree ayns lhiastynys* = Better to go to bed supperless than to get up in debt (*see Commerce*).
31. *Ta broit cheh boggagh arran croie* = Hot broth softens hard bread.
32. *S'giare y jough na yn skeall* = How much shorter the drink than the story.
33. *Commee obbyr, commee bee* = Sharing work, sharing food (*see Co-operation and Work*).
34. *Laa er-meshtey as laa er ushtey* = A day tipsy and a day on water (*see Moderation*).
35. *Dy ve aashagh 'syn oie monney shibber nagh ee,*
Er nonney n'oo plaiynt ec laccal dty laynt =
To be easy at night much supper don't eat,
Or else thou'lt complain of wanting thy health (*see Moderation and Health*).
36. *Shibber eddrym, lhiabee ghlen* = A light supper, a clean bed (*see Health, Moderation, House*).
37. *Oie-Innyd my vees dty volg lane, my jig Laa Caisht yiw trost son shen* = Shrove Tuesday night, though thy belly be full, before Easter day thou mayst fast (hunger) for that (*see Holy Days*).
- 14a. *Soddag chamm, bolg jeeragh* = Crooked bannock, straight belly (*see The Body*).
- 15a. *Ta lane caillit eddyr y laue as y veel* = There's much lost between the hand and mouth (*see The Body*).

3.—CLOTHING.

38. *Ta fys ec dy chooilley ghooi'ney c'raad ta'n vraag gortagh eh* = Every man knows where the shoe hurts him.
39. *Ta ynsagh coamrey stoamey yn dooinney berchagh, as t'eh berchys yn dooinney boght* = Learning is fine clothing of the rich man, and it is riches of the poor man (*see Knowledge and Riches*).

- 1a. *Faggys ta my lheiney, agh ny sniessey ta my chrackan* = Near is my shirt, but nearer is my skin (*see* The Body and Selfishness).

4.—DEATH.

40. *Cha daink ríeau baase gyn leshtal* = Death never came without an excuse.
 41. *Cha marroo as clagh* = As dead as a stone (*see* Country Objects).
 42. *Cha marroo as skeddan* = As dead as a herring (*see* Fish).
 43. *Baase y derrey voddey grayse y voddey elley* = The death of one dog is the grace (life) of another dog (*see* Selfishness and Animals).
 44. *Bioys da dooinney as baase da east* = Life to man and death to fish (*see* Fish).
 **Ny share ta'n oaie na bea eginagh* = Better is the grave than a needy life (*see* Poverty).
 **Ta moddey bio ny share na lion marroo* = A living dog is better than a dead lion (*see* Animals).

5.—HEALTH, DISEASE.

45. *Dy beagh ee er e volg myr l'ee er e dreeym, Shimmey mac dooinney yinnagh ee harrish y cheym* = If it were on its belly as it is on its back,¹ Many a son of man would it put over the stile (*see* Church and Insects).
 46. *Goll sheese ny lhargagh* = Going down the slope² (*see* Country Objects).
 3a. *Freyal y craue glass* = Keeping the bone green (*see* The Body).
 24a. *Te feer aasagh cur fuil ass kione carragh* = It is very easy to make a scabby head bleed (*see* The Body).

¹ Spoken of the itch and other skin-affections supposed to be caused by insects which lie with their feet to the skin and cannot therefore burrow into the flesh and so cause death—"over the stile" implying the churchyard.

² Failing in health.

- 35b. *Dy ve aashagh 'syn oie monney shibber nagh ee,*
Er nonney n'oo plaiynt ec laccal dty laynt =
 To be easy at night much supper don't eat,
 Or else thou'lt complain of wanting thy health (*see Food*
and Moderation).
 36a. *Shibber eddrym, lhiabbee ghlen* = A light supper, a clean bed
 (*see Food, Moderation, and House*).

6.—HUNGER.

47. *Brishys accyrys trooid boallaghyn cloaie* = Hunger will break
 through walls of stone (*see Country Objects*).
 48. *Cha dennee rieu yn soogh y shang* = The glutton never
 felt for the starving (*see Gluttony*).

7.—LOVE AND INSTINCT.

49. *Furree y mwaagh rish e heshey* = The hare will stop for his
 mate, Or:
S'keoi as ta'n mwaagh, furree eh rish e heshey = Wild as is
 the hare, he will stop for his mate (*see Animals*).
 58a. When gorse is out of blossom, kissing's out of fashion
 (*see Plants and Customs*).

8.—YOUTH, AGE.

50. *Quoi erbee s'beayn, cha beayn y chenndiaght* (or, *cha vel y*
chenndiaght beayn) = Whoever is durable, the aged is
 not durable.
 **Myr shinney cagh, smessey cagh* = The older one is, the
 worse he is.

10.—GOD.

51. *Dy chooilley ghooiinneer e hon hene, as Jee son ooilley* = Every
 man for himself, and God for all.
 52. *Dy der Jee dou e vannaght* = God give me His blessing (a
 blessing asked of elders).
 53. *Dy bannee Jee oo* = God bless thee (the answer).
 54. *Dy bishee Jee shiu* = God prosper you.¹
 55. *Tra ta un dooinney boght cooney lesh dooinney boght elley, ta*
Jee hene garaghtee = When one poor man helps another
 poor man, God himself laughs [for joy] (*see Poverty*).

¹ Said in passing ploughmen, reapers, etc.

14.—CUSTOMS.

56. *Mannagh vow cliaghtey cliaghtey, nee cliaghtey coe* = If custom be not [indulged with] custom, custom will weep.
 57. To have the bridge and staff (*see* note under "Master and Servant").
 58. When gorse is out of blossom, kissing's out of fashion (*see* *Love and Plants*).

15.—CAUTION AND PRUDENCE.

59. *Cean craue ayns beel drogh voddey* = Throw a bone into a bad dog's mouth (*see* *Animals*).
 60. You must summer and winter a stranger before you can form an opinion of him (*see* *Races*).
 61. *Ta aile meeley jannoo bry millish* = A slow fire makes sweet malt (*see* *Patience, Industrial Objects, Fire*).
 62. *Foddee yn moddey s'jerree tayrtyn y mwaagh* = Maybe the last dog will catch the hare (*see* *Patience, The Chase, Animals*).
 63. *Lurg roayrt hig contraie* = After spring-tide will come neap (*see* *Patience and The Sea*).
 64. *Leah appee, leah lhoau* = Soon ripe, soon rotten (*see* *Fruit*).
 65. *Millish dy ghoail, agh sharroo dy eek* = Sweet to take, but bitter to pay (*see* *Commerce*).

17.—CONCORD, STRIFE.

- 208* *Ta'd beaghèy bwoailley myr kayt as moddey* = They live fighting like cat and dog (*see* *Animals*).
 * *Hig y vaare er ny wrangleryn* = Ruin will come to wranglers (*see* *Punishments*).
 * *Tra huittys ny maarlee magh, hig skeeal er ny kirree* = When the thieves fall out tidings will come of the sheep (*see* *Thieves and Animals*).

18.—CONSTANCY, INCONSTANCY.

66. *Lhiam-lhiat* = With me, with thee.
 10a. *Chengey lhiam, chengey lhiat* = Tongue with me, tongue with thee (*see* *The Body*).

19.—CONTAMINATION AND INFECTION.

67. *Eshyn thieys marish moddee irrys eh marish jarganyn* = He who lies down with dogs will rise up with fleas (*see Animals and Insects*).
68. *Ta un cheyrrey screbbagh doghaney yn slane shioltane* = One scabby sheep infects the whole flock (*see Animals*).

20.—COURAGE, FEAR.

69. *Tou cha daaney as assag* = 'Thou art as bold as a weasel (*see Animals*).
70. *Tou cha daaney as clagh vane* = Thou art as bold as a white stone, Or:
Cha vel ny smoo dy aggle aynynd na ta ayns clagh vane = There is no more fear in thee than there is in a white stone (*see Country Objects*).
71. *S'mie ve daaney, agh s'olk ve ro ghaaney* = 'Tis good to be bold, but bad to be impudent (*see Moderation*).
72. *Boayl nagh vel aggle, cha vel grayse* = Where fear is not, grace is not.

21.—ETHICS AND GENERAL.

73. *Nagh insh dou cre va mee, agh insh dou cre ta mee* = Don't tell me what I was, but tell me what I am.
74. *Ta'n red ta goit dy mie ny share na'n red ta jeant dy mie* = What's taken well is better than what's done well.
75. *Cha row rieu "bare-lhiam" jeant magh* = "I would rather" was never satisfied.
76. *Ta'n chied sponnag lowit* = The first error is overlooked.
77. *Share soie son veg na roie son veg* = Better sit for nothing than run for nothing.
78. *Haghyr eh ny share na hoill eh* = It happened better than he deserved.
79. *Ta lane eddyr raa as jannoo* = There's much between saying and doing.
- 79*. *Tra ta ny hoirryn cha chiu, cha nyrrys da'n mean ve cha thanney* = When the edges are so thick, no wonder for the middle to be so thin.

17a. *Cha vel fer erbee cha bouyr, as eshyn nagh jean clashtyn* =
There is no man so deaf, as he who will not hear (*see*
The Body).

**Ta niart erskyn kiart* = Might is above right.

**Er ny ard-gheiney hig ard-cherraghey* = On the chief men
will come chief punishment (*see* Punishments).

**Lhiat myr hoill oo* = To thee as thou deservest.

**Tra fou jannoo yn trie, jean yn oarlagh* = When thou art
doing the foot, do the inch.

24.—GOODNESS, EVIL AND EVIL DOING.

80. *Eshyn ghuirrys skeeallyn hayrrys skeeallyn* = He who hatches
tales shall be caught by tales.

81. *Share yn olk shione dooin, na yn olk nagh nhione dooin* =
Better the evil we know, than the evil we do not
know.

82. *S'beayn dagh olk* = Every evil is durable.

83. *Shaghyn dagh olk* = Avoid every evil.

84. *Cha smooinee rieuau er yn olk nagh ren* = [One] never thinks
of the evil [one] did not do.

85. *My olk ayn, smessey ass* = If bad [is] in, worse [may be]
out.

4a. *Ta chengey ny host ny share na olk y ghra* = A silent tongue
is better than evil speaking (*see* The Body).

**S'olk yn eean ta broghey e edd hene* = How bad the fowl that
defiles its own nest (*see* Birds).

25.—GRATITUDE, INGRATITUDE.

26a. *Ta bee eait jarroodit* = Eaten food is forgotten (*see* Food).

26.—HAPPINESS, MISERY.

86. *Cha vel eshyn laccal gerjagh ta goaill soyley jeh aigney booiagh*
= He wants not happiness who enjoys a contented mind.

27.—HOPE, DISAPPOINTMENT.

87. *Cronk glass foddey voym, loam, loam tra roshym eh* = A
green hill [when] far from me, bare, bare when I reach
it (*see* Country Objects).

28.—IMPOSTURE, LYING, ETC.

88. *Mollee yn molleyr oo, my oddys eh* = The impostor will cheat thee, if he can.
89. *Cha bee breagery credjit, ga dy ninsh eh yn irriney* = A liar will not be believed, though he speaks the truth.
90. *Ta rouyr chebbyn mie leodaghey mitchoor* = Too many good offers disgust a rogue.
91. *Ta'n breagery molley yn sonderey* = The liar deceives the miser.
92. *Ny yial dy molley* = Do not promise to deceive.
93. *Myr sniessey yn oie, slhee ny mitchooryn* = The nearer the night, the more rogues (*see Day and Night*).
94. *Laik lhiat ve marish y chioltane, agh ta'n eamagh ayd eamagh ny goair* = Thou wouldst like to be [numbered] with the flock, but thy bleat is the bleat of the goat (*see Animals*).
95. *Eshyn yioiw skielley yioiw eh craid* = He who sustains an injury will get mocked.
96. *Surree eh yn flout, my yioiw eh yn glout* = He will suffer the scoff, if he gets the prog.
- 7b. *Ta cree dooie ny share na kione croutagh* = A kind heart is better than a crafty head (*see The Body and Kindness*).

28*.—INDEPENDENCE.

- 22a. *Ta dty lliasagh dty ghoarn* = Thy recompense is thy fist (*see The Body*).
- 216a. *Lhig dy chooilley vuck reuyrey jee hene* = Let every pig dig for itself (*see Animals*).
- 223a. *Lhig dy chooilley ushag guirr e hoochyn hene* = Let every bird hatch its own eggs (*see Birds*).

29.—INDUSTRY, IDLENESS.

97. *Litcheragh goll dy lhiie, litcheragh dy irree,
As litcheragh dy goll dys y cheeill Je-doonee* =
Lazy to go to bed, lazy to rise,
And lazy to go to church on Sunday (*see House and Church*).
98. *Lhiggey my hraa* = Letting time pass.¹

¹ Applied as an epithet to an indolent fellow.

- 20a. *Cha vow laue ny haauve veg* = The idle hand gets nothing (*see The Body*).

30.—KINDNESS, CRUELTY.

99. *Eshyn nagh bee mie rish e gharran, shegin da yn phollan y chur lesh er e vooïn* = He who will not be kind to his nag, must bring the saddle on his [own] back (*see Animals*).
- 7a. *Ta cree dooie ny share na kione croutagh* = A kind heart is better than a crafty head (*see The Body and Imposture*).

31.—KNOWLEDGE, IGNORANCE.

- 39a. *Ta ynsagh coamey stoamey yn dooinney berchagh, as f'eh berchys yn dooinney boght* = Learning is fine clothing of the rich man, and it is riches of the poor man (*see Clothing and Riches*).

32.—LIBERALITY, SELFISHNESS.

- 1b. *Faggys ta my lheiney, agh ny sniessey ta my crackan* = Near is my shirt, but nearer is my skin (*see The Body and Clothing*).
- 19a. *Sniessey yn uillin na yn cloan* = Nearer [is] the elbow than the children (*see The Body and Children*).
- 43b. *Baase y derrey voddey bioys y voddey elley* = The death of one dog is the life of another dog (*see Death and Animals*).
- 51a. *Dy choolley ghooïnney er e hon hene, as Jee son ooilley* = Every man for himself and God for all (*see God*).

33.—MODERATION, GLUTTONY.

- 34a. *Laa er-meshtey as laa er ushtey* = A day tipsy and a day on water (*see Food*).
- 35a. *Dy ve aashagh 'syn oie, monney shibber nagh ee, Er nonney n'oo plaiynt ee laccal dty laynt* = To be easy at night, much supper don't eat, Or else thou'lt complain of wanting thy health (*see Food and Health*).
- 36b. *Shibber eddrym, lhiabbee ghlen* = A light supper, a clean bed (*see Food, Health, and House*).

- 48a. *Cha dennec riau yn soogh y shang* = The glutton never felt for the starving (*see* Hunger).
 71a. *S'mie ve daaney, agh s'olk ve ro ghaaney* = 'Tis good to be forward, but bad to be impudent (*see* Courage).

34.—MODESTY, PRIDE AND BOASTING.

100. *T'ad craa nyn moyrn er y cheilley* = They are shaking their pride on each other.
 101. *Yiow moyrn lhiagey, as dagh unmane f'eh echey* = Pride will have a fall, and everyone who has it.
 102. *Cha vel eh cheet jesh da moyrn dy yannoo red erbee ta luccal leshtal* = It does not become pride to do anything that needs an apology.
 103. *Cha dennec riau moyrn feayraght* = Pride never felt cold.
 103.* *Cha jagh moylley ghooinee hene riau foddey voish e ghorrys* = A man's praise of himself never went far from his door [or, self-praise is no recommendation].

35.—PUNCTUALITY, UNPUNCTUALITY.

104. Manxman like, a day behind the fair (*see* Village System and National).
 105. *T'raa dy liooar! t'raa dy liooar!* = Time enough! Time enough! (A Manx motto.)

36.—PATIENCE, HASTE.

- 105*. *Myr smoo siyr, smoo cumrail* = The greater haste, the greater hindrance.
 106. *Stiark keayrt ta dooinney siyrragh ass seaghyn* = Seldom is a hasty man out of trouble.
 61a. *Ta aile meeley jannoo bry millish* = A slow fire makes sweet malt (*see* Industrial, Fire, and Caution).
 62a. *Foddee yn moddey s'ferree tayrtyn y mwuagh* = Maybe the last dog will catch the hare (*see* Animals, The Chase, and Caution).
 63a. *Lurg roayrt hig contraie* = After spring-tide will come neap (*see* Caution and The Sea).
 **Ny veggan as ny veggan, dee yn chayt y skeddan* = Little by little, [as] the cat ate the herring (*see* Animals and Fish).

37.—WISDOM, FOLLY.

107. *Keeayl chionnit yn cheeayl share,*
Mannagh vel ee kionnit ro gheyr =
 Bought wit [is] the best wit,
 If it be not bought too dear.
108. *Ta dooinney creeney mennick jannoo carrey jeh e noid = A*
 wise man often makes a friend of his enemy (Enemies).
109. *Ta keeayll ommidjys, ny slooid ny t'ee ec dooinney creeney dy*
reayll = Wisdom is folly, unless a wise man keeps it.
110. *Gow coyrl bleb son keayrt =* Take the advice of a fool for
 once.
111. *Gowee bleb rish e voylley, as gowee dooinney creeney rish e*
phlalynt = A fool will receive praise, and a wise man
 will receive blame.
- 21a. *Kione mooar er y veggan cheilley, as kione beg gyn veg edyr ;*
towse cheilley rish = A great head with little wit, and a
 little head without any ; measure by wit (*see* The Body).

38.—CLASSES IN SOCIETY.

112. *Stroshey yn theay na yn Chiarn =* The people are stronger
 than the Lord [of the Isle].

39.—CC-OPERATION.

113. *Myr sloo yn cheshaght smoo yn ayn =* The smaller the
 company the greater the share.
114. *Ta sheshey chammah as ayn =* A companion is as good as
 a share.
115. *Myr smoo yn cheshaght s'reagh yn chloie =* The greater the
 company the merrier the sport (*see* Sports).
116. *Raad ta jees ta reih,*
As raad ta troor ta teiy =
 Where there are two there's choice,
 And where there are three there's pick.
- 33a. *Commee obbyr, commee bee =* Sharing work, sharing food
 (*see* Work and Eating).

40.—COMMERCE AND MONEY.

117. *Cha jarg oo dty choayl y chreck =* Thou canst not sell thy
 loss.

118. *Hig daill gys eek* = Credit will come to payment.
 119. *Roshee daill y dorrys* = Credit will reach the door.
 120. *Daa ghrogh eek t'ayn, geeck rolaue, as dyn geeck edyr* =
 There are two bad pays, pay beforehand, and no pay at
 all.
 121. *Geeck cabhyl marroo* = Paying for a dead horse (*see*
Animals).
 122. *Airh wuigh as palchey j'ee* = Yellow gold and plenty of
 it (*see Riches*).
 30a. *Share goll dy thie fegooish shibber na girree ayns lhiastynys*
 = Better to go to bed supperless than to get up in debt
 (*see Food*).
 65a. *Millish dy ghoail, agh sharroo dy eek* = Sweet to take, but
 bitter to pay (*see Caution*).
 * *Cha row rieau cooid chebbit mie* = Never were offered wares
 good.

42.—FRIENDS, ENEMIES.

123. *Kiangle myr noid, as yiotw myr carrey* = Bind as an enemy,
 and you shall have as a friend.
 108a. *Ta dooinney creeney mennick jannoo carrey jeh e noid* = A
 wise man often makes a friend of his enemy (*see Wisdom*).
 * *Myr y tarroo-deyill as y charage* = Like the rove- or horned-
 beetle and the ordinary field-beetle (*see Insects*).

43.—HOUSE AND HOME (INCLUDING HOUSE APPLIANCES).

124. *Siyn folmey smoo sheean nee* = Empty vessels will make the
 most noise.
 125. *Tra ta thie dty naboo er aile, gow cairail jeh dty hie hene* =
 When thy neighbour's house is on fire, take care of thy
 own house.
 126. *Shooyll ny thieyn* = Walking the houses¹ (*see Poverty*).
 127. *Clagh ny killagh ayns kione dty hie woor* = [May] a
 stone of the church [be found] in the head of thy
 dwelling (*see Church*).
 128. *Ta ny moddee er chur nyn gione'sy phot* = The dogs have
 put their heads in the pot (*see Animals*).

¹ Begging.

129. *Shee er dty hie as dty aaght, ta'n fer-driaght ec dty ghorrys* =
Peace on thy house and lodging, the officer of justice is
at thy door (*see Law*).
- 23a. *Eddyr daa stoyl ta'n toyn er laare* = Between two stools the
posterior is on the floor (*see The Body*).
- 36c. *Shibber eddrym, lhiabbee glen* = A light supper, a clean bed
(*see Food and Moderation*).
- 97a. *Litcheragh goll dy lhie, litcheragh dy irree,*
As litcheragh dy goll dys y cheill Je-doonee =
Lazy to go to bed, lazy to rise,
And lazy to go to church on Sunday (*see Idleness and*
Church).

45.—MASTER, SERVANT.

130. *Lhigey'n laair vane* = Galloping the white mare¹ (*see*
Animals).
- 57a. To have the bridge and staff² (*see Customs*).

46.—MARRIAGE AND COURTSHIP.

131. *Tra ta fer laccal ben, cha vel eh laccal agh ben,*
Agh tra ta ben echey, t'eh laccal ymmodde glen =
When a man wants a wife, he wants but a wife,
But when he has a wife, he wants a great deal.
132. *Sooree ghiare yn tooree share* = A short courtship [is] the
best courtship.
133. *Ny poose eirey-inneen ny slooid ny ta'n ayr eck er ny ve croghit*
= Do not marry an heiress unless her father has been
hanged (she is sure to be proud).
134. *Myr s'doo yn feeagh yiow eh sheshey* = Black as is the raven
he'll get a partner (*see Birds*).
135. No herring, no wedding (*see Fish*).

¹ Said of servants who run away from their places before the expiration of their period of servitude. This formerly was for twelve months.

² By an old custom, the Lords of the Island and chief officers had the privilege of compelling servants of both sexes into their service by "yarding", or an act of the lockman of placing his wand of office across their shoulders. The servants of certain clergymen and all members of the House of Keys were exempted from this rule by virtue of "the bridge and staff" which their employers were allowed.

136. *Ta lane chyndaaghyn* (or, *Shimmey chyndaa*) *ayns carr-y-phoosee* = There are many variations in the nuptial song (see Social Life).

47.—PARENTS, CHILDREN.

137. *Ta booa vie ny gha as drogh lhei y ec* = Many a good cow hath a bad calf (see Animals).
 138. *My ta keim 'sy laair, bee keim 'sy lhiy* = If there be an amble in the mare, there will be an amble in the colt (see Animals).
 139. *Ta'n yeean myr e ghooie my vel clooie er y chione* = The chicken is like its kind before down is on its head (see Birds).
 140. *Eshyn ta geddyn dooinney mie da e inneen f'eh cosney mac, agh eh ta geddyn drogh-chleuin f'eh coayl inneen* = He who gets a good man for his daughter gains a son, but he who gets a bad son-in-law loses a daughter.
 196. *Sniessey yn uillin na yn cloan* = Nearer [is] the elbow than the children (see The Body and Selfishness).

48.—RICHES, POVERTY (INCLUDING CHARITY).

142. *Cha vel sonnys gonnys* = Store is no sore.
 143. *Eshyn smoo hayrrys smoo vees echey* = He who catches most will have most.
 144. *Tasht prughag as ee lughag* = Store miser and eat mouse (see Animals).
 145. *Ta airh er cushagyn ayns shen* = There is gold on cushags (ragwort) there (see Plants).
 146. *Boght, boght dy bragh* = Poor, poor for ever.
 147. *Cha boght as lugh killagh* = As poor as a church mouse (see Animals).
 148. *Cha nee eshyn ta red beg echey ta boght, agh eshyn ta geeearree mooarane* = It is not he who has a little that's poor, but he who desires much.
 149. *S'booiagh yn voght er yn veggan* = How willing is the poor of the least [alms].
 150. *Cha jinnagh dooinney ta coyrt dy ve ry-akin dy bragh jeirk 'sy dorraghys* = A man who gives alms to be seen would never give in the dark.

151. *Cur meer da'n feeagh as hig eh reesht* = Give a piece to the raven and he'll come again (*see* Birds).
152. *Cha boght as carage* = As poor as a beetle (*see* Insects).
**Ny share ta'n oaie na bea eginagh* = Better is the grave than a needy life (*see* Death).
- 12a. *Tra scuirrys y laue dy choyrt, scuirrys y veal dy voylley* = When the hand ceases to give, the tongue will cease to praise (*see* The Body).
- 39b. *Ta ynsagh coamrey stoamey yn dooinney berchagh, as f'eh berchys yn dooinney boght* = Learning is fine clothing of the rich man, and it is riches of the poor man (*see* Clothing and Knowledge).
- 55a. *Tra ta un dooinney boght cooney lesh dooinney boght elley, ta Jee hene garaghtee* = When one poor man helps another poor man, God himself laughs [for joy] (*see* God).
- 122a. *Airh wuigh as palchey j'ee* = Yellow gold and plenty of it (*see* Commerce and Money).
- 126a. *Shooyll ny thieyn* = Walking the houses¹ (*see* Home).

49.—SOCIAL LIFE.

- 136a. *Tu lane chynduaghyn ayns carr-y-phoosee* = There are many variations in the nuptial song (*see* Marriage).

50.—SPORT AND THE CHASE.

153. *Tra s'reagh yn chloie share faagail jeh* = When the sport is merriest it is best to leave off.
- 153*. He is playing fodjeeaght² (exaggerating).
- 62b. *Foddee yn moddey s'jerree tayrtyn y miwaagh* = Maybe the last dog will catch the hare (*see* Caution, Patience, and Animals).
- 115a. *Myr smoo yn cheshaght s'reagh yn chloie* = The greater the company the merrier the sport (*see* Co-operation).

¹ Begging.

² To play fodjeeaght is to shoot an arrow beyond all ordinary marks.

51.—THRIFT, WASTE.

154. *Laa'l Moirrey ny gianle, lieh foddry as lieh aile* = Candlemas Day (2 Feb.), [have] half [your] straw and half [your] firing (*see* Firing and Saints' Days).
- 27a. *Ta fooillagh naareydagh ny s'melley na ee scammyltagh* = Shameful leaving is worse than shameful eating (*see* Food).
- * *Tasht seose cour ny cassyn gorley* = Store up for bad feet (*see* The Body).

52.—TRADES.

- 218a. *Bock Yuan fannee* = The gelding of John the flayer (*see* Animals and Topographical).

53.—VILLAGE SYSTEM.

155. *S'loam ta laare y valley vargee* = How empty is the floor of the town market.
156. To go about like a brewing-pan¹ (*see* Industrial).
157. The Manxman is never wise until the day after the fair (*see* National).
- 104a. Manxman like, a day behind the fair (*see* Unpunctuality and National).

54.—WAR, ETC.

158. *Share craght ve 'sy cheer na mee ny mannan cheet stiagh meein* = Better be slaughter in the country than the month of the kid (March) to come in gently (*see* Weather Wisdom).

56.—WOMANKIND.

160. *Boayl ta gioce ta keck, as boayl ta mraane ta pleat* = Where there are geese there's dirt, and where there are women there's talking [tattling] (*see* Birds).
161. *Cadlee ny moddee tra ta ny mraane creecarey* = Dogs will sleep when the women are sifting (*see* Agriculture and Animals).

¹ One brewing-pan, or kettle, once served for a whole neighbourhood, and was passed on from one landowner to another. In some instances it was parish property.

- 11a. *Guilley smuggagh, dooinney glen,*
Inneen smuggagh, sluht dy ven =
 A snotty boy [makes] a clean man,
 A snotty girl, a slut of a woman (*see* The Body).

57.—WORK.

162. *Caghlaa obbyr aash =* Change of work is rest.
 163. *Ta greme ayns traas cooie sauail nuy =* A stitch in proper
 time saves nine.
 164. *Lesh yvioys shegin dooin jannoo =* With life we must work.
 165. *Obbyr dyn shirrey, obbyr dyn booise =* Work without re-
 quest, work without thanks.
 166. *Obbyr laa yn ghulley buigh—obbyr laue =* The day work of
 the yellow lad—hand work.
 25a. *Un eam gys bee as jees gys obbyr =* One call to food and
 two to work (*see* Food).
 33b. *Commee obbyr, commee bee =* Sharing work, sharing food (*see*
 Food and Co-operation).

58.—CHURCH AND CHURCHYARD.

167. *Share farkagh er baare faarkey ny er keim rullickey =*
 Better be waiting on the crest of a billow than on the
 churchyard stile (*see* The Sea).
 168. *Ollick vog, rhullic vea =* A wet Christmas, a rich church-
 yard (*see* Weather Wisdom and Seasons).
 169. *Laa'l Parlane, daa honn goll 'sy nane =* St. Bartholomew's
 Day two masses go in one (*see* Holy Days).
 170. There will neither be *clag* nor *kiaullane*.¹
 171. *Shenn phot, shenn ghryle,*
Shenn chlooid dy choodaghey yn aile =
 An old pot, an old griddle,
 An old clout to cover the fire.²

¹ Probably of Roman Catholic origin, signifying that there will neither be *large* nor *little* bell—neither prayers nor mass; *i.e.*, no service at all. (*Kiaullane* = Bellman's bell.)

² Description of the bells of Kirk Arbory.

- 45a. *Dy beagh er e volg myr t'ee er e drecym,*
Shimney mac dooinney yinnagh ee harrish y cheym =
 If it were on its belly as it is on its back,
 Many a son of man would it put over the stile (*see Health*
and Insects).
- 97b. *Litcheragh goll dy lhie, litcheragh dy irree,*
As litcheragh dy goll dys y cheeill Je-doonee =
 Lazy to go to bed, lazy to rise,
 And lazy to go to church on Sunday (*see Industry and*
House).
- 127a. *Clagh ny killagh ayns kione¹ dty hie wooar* = [May] a
 stone of the church [be found] in the head of thy
 dwelling² (*see House*).

60*.—BUREAUCRACY.

172. As stiff as the staff of government.³

62.—RULERS.

- 237a. *Raad mooar Ree Gorree* = The great road of King Orry
 (*see The Sun, Persons*).
- 252a. Duke of Atholl, King of Man,
 Is the greatest man in all the lan' (*see Persons*).

63, 64.—JUSTICE, LAWS.

173. *Tra ta'n gheay 'sy villey yioiw shiu magh yn Ghuilley-glass*
 = When the wind is in the tree you will get the
 Lockman.⁴
174. *Yn loam leigh, yn loam chair* = Bare law, bare justice.

¹ Another version gives *corneil*, "corner".

² This was once the greatest curse that could be applied by one person to another. It evidently referred to sacrilege, which the Manx held in the greatest abhorrence and superstitious dread.

³ Applied to a person whose carriage is stiff and erect. Its origin was a white staff, which the Governor of the Island received on his instalment, swearing that he will "truly and uprightly deal between the Queen and her subjects, and as indifferently betwixt party and party as this staff now standeth".

⁴ An officer corresponding with the sheriff's officer in England.

- 129a. *Shee er dty hie as dty aaght, ta'n fer-driaght ec dty ghorrys* =
Peace on thy house and lodging, the officer of justice is
at thy door (*see House*).

66.—PUNISHMENTS.

- **Hig y vaare er ny wrangleryn* = Ruin will come to wranglers
(*see War*).
**Er ny ard-gheiney hig ard-cherraghey* = On the chief men
will come chief punishment (*see Ethics*).

66*.—JUDGES.

175. *Eshyn nagh gow rish briw erbee t'eh deyrey eh hene* = He
who will acknowledge no judge condemns himself.
8a. *Easht lesh dagh cleaysh, eisht jean briwnys* = Listen with
each ear, then do judgment (*see The Body*).

70.—WEATHER WISDOM.

176. *Yn chiune y smoo erbee geay jiass sniessey j'ee* = The greater
the calm the nearer the south wind.
177. *Cha daink lesh y gheay, nagh ragh lesh yn ushtey* = Nothing
came with the wind, that would not go with the water
(*see Water*).
178. *My ta'n ghrian jiarg tra girree eh,*
Foddee shiu jerkal rish fliaghey =
If the sun is red when he rises,
You may expect rain (*see The Sun*).
179. *Ta eayst Jy-sarn 'sy Vayrnt dyllooar ayns shiaght bleeaney* =
A Saturday's moon in March is enough in seven years
(*see Moon and Seasons*).
180. *Sheeu kishan dy yoan Mayrnt mayll bleeaney Vannin* = A
peck of March dust is worth a year's rent of [the Isle of]
Man (*see Seasons and National*).
181. *Laa'l Breeshey bane,*
Dy chooilley yeeig lane
Dy ghoo ny dy vane =
A white St. Bridget's Day (February 1),
Every ditch full
Of black or of white (*see Country Objects and Holy*
Days).

182. *Choud as hig y scell-greinney stiagh Laa'l Breeshey, hig y sniaghtey my jig Laa Boaldyn* = As long as the sunbeam comes in on St. Bridget's Day (February 1) the snow will come before May Day (*see Holy Days*).
183. *Foddee fastyr grianagh ve ec moghrey bodjalagh* = A sunny evening may follow a cloudy morning.
184. *Laa'l Paul ghorrinagh gheayee, Ghenney er y theihll as baase mooar sleih ; Laa'l Paul aalin as glen, Palchey er y theihll dy arroo as meinn* = St. Paul's Day (January 25) tempestuous and windy, Scarcity in the world and great mortality ; St. Paul's Day fine and clear, Plenty in the world of corn and meal (*see Agriculture and Holy Days*).
185. *Giare sheear, liauyr shiar* = Short west, long east.
186. *Ny three geayghyn s'feayrey dennee Fion Mc Cooil, Geay henneu as geay huill, As geay fo ny shiauihll* = The three coldest winds that Fion McCooill felt, Wind from a thaw and wind from holes, And wind from under the sails (*see Ships and Persons*).
187. *Ta'n Vayrnt chionney, as yn nah vee fanney* = March tightens, and the next month skins (*see Seasons*).
188. *Cha jean un ghollan-geayee sourey, Ny un chellagh-keylley geurey* = One swallow will not make summer, Nor one woodcock winter (*see Birds and Seasons*).
189. *Lane crou cabbyl dy ushtey Laa'l Eoin feeu mayl Vannin* = A horse-shoe full of water on St. John's Day (July 5) is worth the rent of [the Isle of] Man (*see Holy Days and National*).
190. *Tra heidys Avril bing e chayrn, 'Sy theihll vee palchey traagh as oarn* = When April shall shrilly blow his horn, In the world will be plenty of hay and barley (*see Agriculture and Seasons*).
191. *Ayns brishey 'eh'n eayst ta mee er vakin moghrey grouw cur*

lesh fastyr aalin = In a break (change) of the moon I have seen a gloomy morning bring a fine evening.

158a. *Share craght ve 'sy cheer, na mee ny mannan cheet stiagh meein* = Better slaughter be in the country than the month of the kid (March) come in gently (*see War*).

168a. *Ollick vog, rhullie vea* = A wet Christmas, a rich churchyard (*see Church and Seasons*).

**Laa feailley fliaghee, as cagh buinn traagh* = A wet holiday, and one mowing hay (*see Agriculture*).

**Ny nee yn rio gymmyrkey guiy roish yn Ollick, cha nymmyrkey e thunnag lurg yn Ollick* = If the frost will bear a goose before Christmas, it will not bear a duck after Christmas (*see Birds and Seasons*).

**Arragh chayeegh, sourey ouyragh ; Fouyr ghrianagh, geurey rioceagh* = A misty spring, a gloomy summer ; A sunny autumn, a frosty winter (*see Seasons*).

73.—INDUSTRIAL OBJECTS AND COMMODITIES.

192. *Lhig da'n innagh lhie er y chione s'jerree* = Let the weft rest upon the last end.

193. *Ta'n vry erskyn y churnaght* = The malt is better than the wheat (*see Agriculture*).

194. *Bwoaill choud as ta'n yiarn cheh* = Strike while the iron is hot.

195. *Yn oghe gyllagh "toyn losht" da'n aiee* = The oven calling "burnt bottom" to the kiln.

196. *Shegin goaill ny eirkyn marish y cheh* = We must take the horns with the hide.

197. The Manx and Scotch will come so near as to throw their beetles (*i.e.*, mallets) at one another (*see Places*).

61b. *Ta aile meeley jannoo bry millish* = A slow fire makes sweet malt (*see Caution, Patience, and Fire*).

156a. To go about like a brewing-pan (*see Village System*).

74.—AGRICULTURE (INCLUDING FARM AND IMPLEMENTS).

198. *Ny jean balk jeh thaloo mie* = Do not make a miss of good land [in ploughing].

199. *Cha dooar ricau drogh veaynee corran mie* = A bad reaper never got a good sickle.
200. *T'ou towse e arroo liorish dty hubbag hene* = 'Thou art measuring his corn by thy own bushel.
201. *Jean traagh choud as ta'n ghrian soilshean* = Make hay while the sun shines (*see* The Sun).
202. *Ta'n losh da'n furriman* = "Strike the foreman."¹
203. *Laa'l Parick arree yn dow gys e staik as y dooinney gys e lhiabbee* = St. Patrick's Day [March 17], the ox to his stall and the man to his bed (*see* Animals and Saints' Days).
204. *Cha nee yn wooa smoo eieys smoo vlieaunys* = It is not the cow which lows most that will milk the most (*see* Animals).
- 161a. *Cadlee ny moddee tra ta ny mraane creearey* = Dogs will sleep when the women are sifting (*see* Womankind and Animals).
- 184a. *Laa'l Paul ghorrinagh gheayee,*
Ghenney er y theihll as baase mooar sleih ;
Laa'l Paul aalin as glen
Palchey er y theihll dy arroo as meinn =
 St. Paul's Day [January 25th] tempestuous and windy,
 Scarcity in the world and great mortality ;
 St. Paul's Day fine and clear,
 Plenty in the world of corn and meal (*see* Weather Wisdom and Holy Days).
- 190a. *Tra heidys Avril bing e chayrn,*
'Sy theihll vees palchey traagh as oarn =
 When April shall shrilly blow his horn,
 In the world will be plenty of hay and barley (*see* Weather Wisdom and Seasons).
- 193a. *Ta'n vry erskyn y churnaght* = The malt is better than the wheat (*see* Industrial Objects).
- * *Verryms bai da'n chreeagh* = I will give an opposite (or contrary) throw to the furrow (giving a Roland for an Oliver).

¹ When the "gart" (or last reaper) has cut down his rig before the head reaper, the rest cry out "Strike the foreman". (*Manx Miscellany*, vol. xvi, p. 28.)

* *Laa feailley fliaghee, as cagh buinn traagh* = A wet holiday, and one mowing hay (*see* Weather Wisdom).

* *Hug eh chyndaa da'n charr* = He gave a [reverse] turn to the "twister",¹ *i.e.*, he reversed his course of action.

Another version is : *Hug eh chyndaa 'sy charr* = He changed his tune.

(Said of a man who deserts his client.)

75.—COUNTRY OBJECTS.

205. *Moyll y droghiad myr heu harrish* = Praise the bridge as thou wilt go over it.

206. *Ta drogh hammag ny share na magher foshlit* = A miserable bush is better than the open field.

207. *Ta ushag ayns laue chammah as jees 'sy thammag* = A bird in hand is as well as two in the bush (*see* Birds).

208. *Faaid mooar son Oie'l Fingan* = A great turf for Fingan Eve (*see* Holy Days).

41a. *Cha marroo as clagh* = As dead as a stone (*see* Death).

46a. *Goll sheese ny lhargagh* = Going down the slope (*see* Health).

47a. *Brishys accyrys trooid boallaghan cloaie* = Hunger will break through walls of stone (*see* Hunger).

70a. *T'ou cha daaney as clagh vane* = Thou art as bold as a white stone (*see* Courage).

87a. *Cronk glass foddee voym, loam, loam tra roshym eh* = A green hill [when] far from me, bare, bare when I reach it (*see* Hope).

181a. *Laa'l Breeshey bane,*

Dy chooilley yeeig lane

Dy ghoo ny dy vane =

A white St. Bridget's Day (February 1st),

Every ditch full

Of black or of white (*see* Weather Wisdom and Holy Days).

¹ An appliance used by the Manx for making straw rope

76a.—ANIMALS (INCLUDING ANIMAL PRODUCTS).

- 208*. *T'ad beaghey bwoailley myr kayt as moddey* = They live fighting like cat and dog (*see Strife*).
209. *Cre yio'w jeh'n chayt agh y chrackan?* = What will you get of the cat but the skin?
210. *Cha stamp rieau yn dow doo er e chass* = The black ox never stamped on his [own] foot.
211. *Goll thie yn ghoayr dy hirrey ollan* = Going to the goat's house to seek for wool.
212. *Rouyr moddee as beggan craueyn* = More dogs than bones.
213. *Cha neig yn choo ta caaee 'sy hoy'n* = The greyhound is not sluggish which has seeds in its posterior.
214. *Cha nee tra ta'n cheyrrey gee yn ouw te cheet r'ee* = It is not when the sheep eats the marsh-pennywort¹ it comes to her [or, it tells a tale] (*see Plants*).
215. *Slaa sahl er toyn muck roauyr* = Daub lard upon the rump of a fat pig.
216. *Lhig dy chooilley vuck reuyrey jee hene* = Let every pig dig for itself (*see Independence*).
217. *Oie mooie, as oie elley s'thie,*
Olk son cabbil, agh son kirree mie =
A night out and another night in,
Bad for horses, but good for sheep (*see Day and Night*).
218. *Bock Yuan fannee* = The gelding of John the flayer (*see Trades and National*).
219. Like a Manx cat, hasn't a tail to wag (*see National*).
220. He is like a Manx cat, he leaves nought behind him but his tail (*see National*).
221. *Gow ark jeh dty vuck hene* = Take the young from thy own pig.
- 43a. *Baase y derrey voddey grayse y voddey elley* = The death of one dog is the grace (life) of another dog (*see Death and Selfishness*).
- 49a. *Furree yn mwaagh rish e heshey* = The hare will stop for its mate (*see Love and Instinct*).
- 59a. *Ceau craue ayns beal drogh voddey* = Throw a bone into a bad dog's mouth (*see Caution*).

¹ An injurious herb.

- 62c. *Foddee yn moddey s'jerree tayrlyn y mwaagh* = Maybe the last dog will catch the hare (*see* Patience, Caution, and The Chase).
- 67a. *Eshyn lhiys marish moddee, irrys eh marish jarganyn* = He who lies down with dogs will rise up with fleas (*see* Infection and Insects).
- 68a. *Ta un cheyrrey screbbagh doghaney yn slane shioltane* = One scabby sheep infects the whole flock (*see* Infection).
- 69a. *T'ou cha daaney as assag* = Thou art as bold as a weasel (*see* Courage).
- 94a. *Laik lhiat ve marish y chioltane, agh ta'n eamagh ayd eamagh ny goair* = Thou wouldst like to be [numbered] with the flock, but thy bleat is the bleat of the goat (*see* Imposture).
- 99a. *Eshyn nagh bee mie rish e gharran, shegin da yn phollan y chur lesh er e vooïn* = He who will not be kind to his nag, must bring the saddle on his [own] back (*see* Kindness).
- 121a. *Geeck cabbyl marroo* = Paying for a dead horse (*see* Commerce).
- 128a. *Ta ny moddee er chur nyn gione 'sy phot* = The dogs have put their heads in the pot (*see* Home).
- 130a. *Lhigey'n laair vane* = Galloping the white mare (*see* Master and Servant).
- 137a. *Ta booa vie ny gha as drogh lhey ec* = Many a good cow hath but a bad calf (*see* Parents).
- 138a. *My ta keim 'sy laair, bee keim 'sy lhiy* = If there be an amble in the mare, there will be an amble in the colt (*see* Parents).
- 144a. *Tasht prughag às ee lughag* = Store miser and eat mouse (*see* Riches).
- 147a. *Cha boght as lugh killagh* = As poor as a church mouse (*see* Poverty).
- 161b. *Cadlee ny moddee tra ta ny mraane crecarey* = Dogs will sleep when the women are sifting (*see* Womankind and Agriculture).
- 203a. *Laa'l Parick arree, yn dow gys e staih as y dooinney gys e lhiabbee* = St. Patrick's Day in spring, the ox to his stall and the man to his bed (*see* Agriculture and Holy Days).

- 204a. *Cha nee yn wooo smoo eiëys smoo vlieaunys* = It is not the cow which lows most will milk the most (*see Agriculture*).
 **Ny veggan as ny veggan, dee yn chayt y skeddan* = Little by little, [as] the cat ate the herring (*see Fish and Patience*).
 **Tra huittys ny maarlee magh, hig skeal er ny kirree* = When the thieves fall out tidings will come of the sheep (*see Thieves and War*).
 **Ta moddey bio ny share na lion marroo* = A living dog is better than a dead lion (*see Death*).
 **Arc er e ghreym* = A young pig on his back. (Said of a sulky person.)
 **Cha raagh as mannan* = As wanton as a kid.

76b.—BIRDS.

222. *Coontey ny hein roish ta ny hoolyn guirt* = Counting the chickens before the eggs are hatched.
 223. *Lhig dy chooilley ushag guirr e hoolyn hene* = Let every bird hatch its own eggs (*see Independence*).
 224. If the puffin's¹ nest was not robbed in the Calf of Man, they would breed there no longer (*see Places*).
 18a. He is as fat as a puffin¹ (*see The Body*).
 134a. *Myr s'doo yn feeagh yioo eh sheshey* = Black as is the raven he'll get a partner (*see Marriage*).
 139a. *Ta'n yeean myr e ghooie my vel clooie er y chione* = The chicken is like its kind before down is on its head (*see Parents*).
 151a. *Cur meer da'n feeagh as hig eh reesht* = Give a piece to the raven and he'll come again (*see Poverty and Alms*).
 160a. *Boayl ta gioee ta keck, as boayl ta mraane ta pleat* = Where there are geese there's dirt, and where there are women there's talking [tattling] (*see Womankind*).
 188a. *Cha jean un ghollan-geayee sourey, Ny un chellagh-keylley geurey* = One swallow will not make summer, Nor one woodcock winter (*see Weather Wisdom and Seasons*).

¹ The sea-parrot.

207a. *Ta ushag ayns laue chammah as iees 'sy thammag* = A bird in the hand is as well as two in the bush (see Country Objects).

247a. *Pibbin* = A puffin (a Manxman) (see National).

**Solk yn eean ta broghey e edd hene* = How bad the fowl that defiles its own nest (see Evil).

**Nv nee yn rio gymmyrkey guiy roish yn Ollick, cha nymmyrkey e thunnag lurg yn Ollick* = If the frost will bear a goose before Christmas, it will not bear a duck after Christmas (see Weather and Seasons).

76c.—FISH.

225. *Ta daa pharick¹ jannoo un ghimmagh* = Two small lobsters make a big one.

226. As indifferently as the herring back-bone doth lie in the midst of the fish.²

227. The crab that lies always in its hole is never fat.

228. Every herring must hang by its own gill.

229. Throw a sprat and catch a herring (see Fishing).

230. Fish for a herring and catch a sprat (see Fishing).

231. Packed like herrings in a barrel, heads and tails.

232. Never a barrel, the better herring.

233. What we lose in dog-fish we shall have in herring.

42a. *Cha marroo as skeddan* = As dead as a herring (see Death).

44a. *Bioys da dooinney as baase da ceast* = Life to man and death to fish³ (see Death).

135a. No herring, no wedding (see Matrimony).

**Ny veggan as ny veggan, dee yn chayt y skeddan* = Little by little, [as] the cat ate the herring (see Animals and Patience).

76d.—INSECTS.

234. *Deeasee y charthan e hoyn woish, as cha dooar eh arragh eh* = The sheep-louse lent its anus, and never got it back again.

¹ A cant word for a small lobster.

² Part of the oath of the Deemsters and High Bailiffs.

³ A Manx toast.

- 45*b*. *Dy beagh ee er e volg myr t'ee er e dreeym, shimney mac dooinney yinnagh ee harrish y cheym* = If it were on its belly as it is on its back, many a son of man would it put over the stile (*see Health and Church*).
- 67*b*. *Eshyn thieys marish moddee, irrys eh marish jarganyn* = He who lies down with dogs, will rise up with fleas (*see Animals and Infection*).
- 152*a*. *Cha boght as carage* = As poor as a beetle (*see Poverty*).
- **Myr y tarroo-deyill as y charage* = Like the rove- or horned-beetle and the ordinary field-beetle (*see Enemies*). Said of sworn enemies.

76e.—PLANTS AND FRUIT.

235. *Ta'n aghaue veg shuyr da'n aghaue vooar* = The little hemlock is sister to the great hemlock [or, the little sin is sister to the great one].
- 58*b*. When gorse¹ is out of blossom, kissing's out of fashion (*see Customs*).
- 64*a*. *Leah appee, leah lhoau* = Soon ripe, soon rotten (*see Caution*).
- 145*a*. *Ta airh er cushagyn ayns shen* = There is gold on cushags (ragwort) there (*see Riches*).
- 214*a*. *Cha nee tra ta'n cheyrrey gee yn ouw te cheet r'ee* = It is not when the sheep eats the marsh-pennywort it comes to her (*see Animals*).

77.—THE SEA.

- 63*b*. *Lurg roayrt hig contraie* = After spring-tide will come neap (*see Caution and Patience*).
- 167*a*. *Share farkagh er baare faarkey ny er keim rullickey* = Better be waiting on the crest of a billow than on the churchyard stile (*see Church*).

78.—SHIPS.

- 186*a*. *Ny three geayghyn s'feayrey dennee Fion Mc Cooil*
Geay henneu as geay huill,
As geay fo ny shiauihll =
 The three coldest winds that Fion Mc Cooil felt,
 Wind from a thaw and wind from holes,

¹ Gorse is in bloom in the Island all the year round.

And wind from under the sails (*see* Weather Wisdom and Personal).

78*.—FISHING.

229a. Throw a sprat and catch a herring (*see* Fish).

230a. Fish for a herring and catch a sprat (*see* Fish).

81.—FIRE AND FIRING.

236. *Ny share loshtys daa vrasnag na unnane* = Two faggots will burn better than one.

61c. *Ta aile meeley jannoo bry millish* = A slow fire makes sweet malt (*see* Patience and Industrial Objects).

154a. *Laa'l Moirrey ny gianle, lieh foddyr as lieh aile* = By Candlemas Day (2nd Feb.) [have] half straw and half firing (*see* Holy Days).

82.—WATER.

5a. *Ta fuill ny s'chee na ushtey* = Blood is thicker than water (*see* The Body).

177a. *Cha daink lesh y gheay, nagh ragh lesh yn ushtey* = Nothing came with the wind that would not go with the water (*see* Weather Wisdom).

83, 84, 85.—THE SUN, MOON, AND STARS.

237. *Raad mooar Ree Gorree* = The highway of King Orry (or "The Milky Way") (*see* Persons).

178a. *My ta'n ghrian jiarg tra girree eh,
Foddee shiu jerkal rish fliaghey* =
If the sun is red when he rises
You may expect rain (*see* Weather Wisdom).

179a. *Ta eayst Jy-sarn 'sy Vayrnt dyllooar ayns shiaght bleeaney*
= A Saturday's moon in March is enough in seven
years (*see* Weather Wisdom and Seasons).

201a. *Jean traagh choud as ta'n ghrian soilshean* = Make hay
while the sun shines (*see* Agriculture).

86.—CHRONOLOGY.

238. Ten L's, thrice X with V and II did fall,¹
Ye Manx take care, or suffer more ye shall.

¹ The number of Manx slain in battle on 8th October 1270, the year of the Scottish conquest of the Island.

- 240a. *Three kegeeshyn dy chegeeshyn slane*
Ta voish laa'l Thomys 'sy Nollick gys laa'l Breeshey bane =
 Three fortnights, whole fortnights,
 It is from St. Thomas's Day [December 21st] in the
 Christmas to white St. Bridget's Day [February 1st]
 (see Holy Days).

87.—DAY AND NIGHT.

239. *Tra hig y laa hig e choyrle lesh* = When the day comes its
 counsel will come with it.
 93a. *Myr sniessey yn oie slhee ny mitchooryn* = 'The nearer the
 night the more rogues (see Imposture).
 217a. *Oie mooie, as oie elley s'thie,*
Olk son cabbil, agh son kirree mie =
 A night out and another night in,
 Bad for horses, but good for sheep (see Animals).

88.—HOLY (SAINTS') DAYS.

240. *Three kegeeshyn dy chegeeshyn slane*
Ta voish laa'l Thomys 'sy Nollick gys laa'l Breeshey bane =
 Three fortnights—whole fortnights
 It is from St. Thomas's Day [December 21st] in the Christ-
 mas to white St. Bridget's Day [February 1st] (see
 Chronology).
 37a. *Oie-Innyd my vees dty volg lane,*
My jig Laa Caisht yioiw trosht son shen =
 Shrove Tuesday night,¹ though thy belly be full,
 Before Easter Day thou mayst fast (hunger) for that (see
 Eating).
 154b. *Laa'l Moirrey ny gianle, lieh foddry as lieh aile* = At Candle-
 mas Day (Feb. 2nd) [have] half straw and half firing
 (see Thrift).
 169a. *Laa'l Farlane, daa honn goll 'sy nane* = St. Bartholomew's
 Day (August 24th) two masses go in one (see Church).
 181b. *Laa'l Breeshey bane,*

¹ Referring to the practice of having *sollaghyn* (a preparation of porridge) for dinner on Shrove Tuesday instead of for breakfast as on other days, and meat and pancakes for supper (see Customs).

- Dy chooilley yeeig lane,*
Dy ghoo ny dy vane =
 A white St. Bridget's Day [February 1],
 Every ditch full
 Of black or of white (*see Weather Wisdom and Country Objects*).
- 182a. *Choud as hig y scell-greinney stiagh Laa'l Breeshey, hig y sniaghtey my jig Laa Boaldyn =* As long as the sunbeam comes in on St. Bridget's Day, the snow will come before May Day (*see Weather Wisdom*).
- 184b. *Laa'l Paul ghorrinagh gheayee,*
Ghenney er y theihll as baase mooar sleih ;
Laa'l Paul aalin as glen,
Palchey er y theihll dy arroo as meinn =
 St. Paul's Day [January 25] tempestuous and windy,
 Scarcity in the world and great mortality ;
 St. Paul's Day fine and clear,
 Plenty in the world of corn and meal (*see Weather Wisdom and Agriculture*).
- 189a. *Lane crou cabbyl dy ushtey Laa'l Eoin feeu mayl Vannin =*
 A horse-shoe full of water on St. John's Day [July 5]
 is worth the rent of [the Isle of] Man (*see Weather Wisdom and National*).
- 203b. *Laa'l Parick arree, yn dow gys e staik as y dooinney gys e lhiabbee =* St. Patrick's Day [March 17th] in Spring, the ox to his stable and the man to his bed (*see Agriculture and Animals*).
- 208a. *Faaid mooar son oie'l Fingan =* A great turf¹ for Fingan eve (eve of St. Thomas's Day, Dec. 21st) (*see Country Objects*).

89.—SEASONS.

- 168b. *Ollick vog, rhullic vea =* A wet Christmas, a rich churchyard (*see Church and Weather Wisdom*).
- 179b. *Ta eayst Jy-sarn 'sy Vayrnt dyllooar ayns shiaght bleeaney =*
 A Saturday's moon in March is enough in seven years
 (*see Weather Wisdom and Moon*).

¹ At the time of cutting peats a large one was reserved for the eve of St. Thomas's Day, when the people went to the cliffs to catch a fat sheep for Christmas fare.

- 180a. *Sheeu kishan dy yoan Mayrnt mayl bleeaney Vannin* = A peck of March dust is worth a year's rent of [the Isle of] Man (*see Weather Wisdom and National*).
- 187a. *Ta'n Vayrnt chionney, as yn nah vee fanney* = March tightens, and the next month skins (*see Weather Wisdom*).
- 188b. *Cha iean un ghollan-geayee sourey,
Ny un chellagh-keylley geurey* =
One swallow will not make summer,
Nor one woodcock winter (*see Weather Wisdom and Birds*).
- 190b. *Tra heidys Avril bing e chayrn,
'Sy theihll vees palchey traagh as oarn* =
When April shall shrilly blow his horn,
In the world will be plenty of hay and barley (*see Agriculture and Weather Wisdom*).
- **Arragh chayeegh, sourey ouyragh,
Fouyr ghrianagh, geurey rioceagh* =
A misty spring, a gloomy summer,
A sunny autumn, a frosty winter (*see Weather Wisdom*).
- **Ny nee yn rio gymmyrkey guiy roish yn Ollick, cha nymmyrkey e thunnag lurg yn Ollick* = If the frost will bear a goose before Christmas, it will not bear a duck after Christmas (*see Weather Wisdom and Birds*).

90.—PLACES.

241. As round as the Tynwald.¹
- 197a. The Manx and Scotch will come so near as to throw their beetles at one another² (*see Industrial Objects*).
- 224a. If the puffin's nest was not robbed in the Calf of Man, they would breed there no longer (*see Birds*).

91.—NATIONALITY (MANX).

242. *Mie Mannin, mie Nherin* = Good[in] Man, good[in] Ireland.
243. Will stand like the legs of Man ("Quocunque jeceris stabit").

¹ The Tynwald is an ancient mound of circular shape, in the parish of German, from which the Manx laws are promulgated.

² A prophecy quoted in the north of the Island. The sea is receding at the point of Ayre, opposite the Scotch coast.

244. A Manxman's arms are the three legs.¹
 245. Do as they do in the Isle of Man.
 How's that? They do as they can.
 246. Blue, the Manxman's livery.²
 247. A Puffin (a nickname for a Manxman³) (*see* Birds).
 248. With one leg I spurn Ireland,
 With the second I kick Scotland,
 And with the third I kneel to England.
 (Descriptive of the armorial bearings (*Fylfot*) of the
 Island.)
 104*b*. Manxman like, a day behind the fair (*see* Punctuality
 and Village System).
 157*a*. The Manxman is never wise until the day after the fair (*see*
 Village System).
 180*b*. *Sheeu kishan dy y oan Mayrnt mayl bleeaney Vannin* =
 A peck of March dust is worth a year's rent of [the Isle
 of] Man (*see* Weather Wisdom and Seasons).
 189*b*. *Lane crou cabhyl dy ushtey laa'l-Eoin feeu mayl Vannin* =
 A horse-shoe full of water on St. John's Day [July 5]
 is worth the rent of [the Isle of] Man (*see* Weather
 Wisdom and Holy Days).
 218*b*. *Bock Yuan fannee* = The gelding of John the flayer (a
 Manxman's walking-stick)⁴ (*see* Trades and Animals).
 219*a*. Like a Manx cat, hasn't a tail to wag⁵ (*see* Animals).
 220*a*. He is like a Manx cat, he leaves nought behind him but
 his tail (*see* Animals).

92.—RACES.

250. Hit him again, for he is Irish.⁶

¹ A punning proverb.

² Originated, probably, from the fact that blue is the prevailing colour of the dress of the Manx people.

³ So called from the large number of puffins (sea-parrot) formerly inhabiting the Calf.

⁴ A Manxman, one John —, flayed his horse, and had afterwards to travel on foot.

⁵ Said of a person who is unable to clear himself of an imputation.

⁶ The Manx formerly entertained considerable antipathy to the Irish, probably dating back to some early invasion.

251. Our enemies¹ the Redshanks, or Goblan Marrey (the Scotch Highlanders).
60*a*. You must summer and winter a stranger before you can form an opinion of him (*see* Caution).
197*b*. The Manx and Scotch will come so near as to throw their beetles at one another (*see* Industrial Objects *and* Places).

93.—PERSONS.

252. Duke of Atholl, King of Man,
Is the greatest man in all the lan' (*see* Rulers).
253. God keep the house and all within
From Cut Mac Cullock and all his kin (The Poor Manx-
man's Prayer).²
254. God keep the good corn, the sheep, and the bullock
From Satan, from sin, and from Cutlar Mac Cullock (The
Rich Manxman's Prayer).²
186*b*. *Ny three geayghyn s'feayrey dennee Fion Mc Cooil,*
Geay hennu as geay huill,
As geay fo ny shiauihl =
The three coldest winds that Fion Mc Cooil felt,
Wind from a thaw and wind from holes,
And wind from under the sails (*see* Weather Wisdom).
237*b*. *Raad mooar Ree Gorree* = The highway of King Orry³ (*see*
Rulers *and* The Stars).

¹ Of the Highlanders the Manx were formerly very suspicious.

² Cutlar MacCullock was a powerful Gallovidian rover, who made repeated incursions into the Island about the year 1507, and carried off all that he could lay hands upon.

³ The Manx name for the "Milky Way". Orry, on landing in the Island, being asked whence he came, is said to have pointed to the "Milky Way" as the road to his country.

NOTE.—The numbers of the sub-heads correspond with those in the Table. Every proverb (except those marked *) has its own serial number, which is retained when repeated, the first repetition being marked *a*, the second *b*, and so on.

It might, however, have been sufficient to quote only the numbers of the proverbs where they appear under more than one head, but, as

the present collection is not an extensive one, it was thought they would bear reprinting in full.

Proverbs without a serial number (marked *) have been added since the paper was sent to press.

In some cases it is only possible to give the English version ; the Manx does not appear to have been preserved.

I have to thank Mr. William Quayle, a Manxman who is familiar with the Manx as a spoken language, and also with its grammatical construction, for his kind assistance in revising the Manx and its translation into English.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

SUPERSTITION IN THE CANONS.

To the Editor of FOLK-LORE.

SIR,—I have by me three MS. Νομοκάνονες (confessors' manuals) in vulgar Greek. I fancy they are none of them more than three hundred years old at the most. In most cases references are given under each heading to the articles of the synodic canons, the canons of the Apostles and the canons of Basil. These I cannot consult. I have thought it worth while to make the following summary of the articles relating to superstitious practices and beliefs, as it will at least show what was thought important at the date these vulgar Greek manuals were drawn up. The three volumes do not in the least correspond in arrangement or contents.

The most interesting chapter is one which says it is derived from the canon of Matthew, ch. i, 60. It is written in very bad vulgar Greek by a very illiterate person, and is sometimes scarcely intelligible. The following offenders are dealt with: (1) Those who lead about performing bears; (2) those who pursue the clouds (τὰ νέφη διοκῶντας (*sic*); (3) those who believe in luck (ριζικόν), or lucky and unlucky days; (4) those who put on their necks or heads brightly coloured beads (βάμματα τούτεστιν κάνουραις) or silk strings (μετάξια) to protect themselves from disease and the evil eye; (5) those who keep tame snakes (this is repeated in one of the other books), or rub the skins of snakes on their eyes and mouth in order to attain their desire; (6) those who make ear-rings for their children on Holy Thursday; (7) those who use various medicinal charms

(ἀποδέματα) for headaches, etc. ; (8) those who make ropes, invoking the beneficent spirits, and put them round themselves or beasts ; (9) those who procure impotency by charms (this occurs in the other books) ; (10) those who have the spirit of a python, that is, those who believe in ζαζάριαν (= ἀζάριαν = hazard) ; (11) those who try to find lost things by means of beans or by other magical uses ; (12) those who practise the κληδόνα on the 1st of May or at the Ascension. There follow certain generalities, and a story of a priest who was punished for giving bread on Good Friday to some people suspected of sacrilege, with the hope that they would not be able to swallow it if they were guilty, and a story of another priest who used a stick bent to a circle for some similar purpose.

The next chapter enacts that the same penance shall be imposed on those who burn "vampires" (βουρκο-λάικους). In a subsequent chapter of the book there is a long discussion about these nasty creatures. It is there asked, "What is to be done when we find a corpse which we believe to be accursed?" (καταχθόνιος is the word used ; in popular phraseology it means "in hell", but here, probably, that the soul is still bound to the body). Before following this discussion, I will cite from one of the other books the criteria of such a corpse. They stand there under the heading "excommunication" (ἀφωρισμός), and are stated to be derived from a book in the church of St. Sophia at Salonica. (1) ὅποιος ἔχει ἐνοχὴν ἢ κατάραν, the front parts of his body are preserved. (2) ὅποιος ἐχει ἀναθεμα is yellow, and his fingers are shrivelled. (3) Whoever has been excommunicated by a bishop is black. (4) Whoever has been excommunicated by the laws of God is white. (5) If a corpse is found in a tomb in good preservation, but hairless, it may or may not be excommunicated. To discover the truth, it must be dug up and put in a maiden tomb (τάφον παρθένον). If after some time it falls to pieces it is all right. If not, it is excommunicate (ἀφωρισμένον). As to the vampires, the former writer says (again most

ungrammatically) that there are no such things, but that the devil causes ghosts to appear in order to persuade people to dig up the ghosts' bodies and burn them, and thus commit an offence which will give himself the right to burn the offenders in eternal fire. The writer says this at some length, and it is evident that, as the subject is twice introduced in this selection of canons, the practice of burning the bodies of those whose ghosts were seen was common at the time the selection was made. It is a testimony to the survival in the popular consciousness of the idea that burning the dead gets rid of them, the idea which first prompted the rite of incineration. This I fancy, and have suggested in a previous number of this Journal, took its origin among a migratory people, who were unable to tend their dead, and therefore *did* see ghosts and *were* pursued by vampires eager to drink their blood in sweet revenge for the neglect of the due blood-offerings.

The other references to superstitions in these books are :

Charming snakes in order that they may not bite cattle which are left out at night (reference is made to the fifty-sixth chapter of the Council of Laodicea). Charming wolves with the same purpose. Melting wax or lead (70th canon τῆς Τρόυλλης, 65th and 93rd of Basil). *Love-philtres* (not from any stated source).—Women are accused of rubbing dough on their bodies, and giving it to eat to men in whom they wish to arouse satanic love. They are also accused (twice) of using *καταμήνια*, etc., as ingredients of love-potions.

Finally, I may mention a curious eschatological passage quoted from Alexander (who was he?), giving reasons for the ceremonies on the third, ninth, and fortieth days after death. "The soul is allowed for two days to come back to earth, accompanied by an angel, and revisit its house or its body. Only on the third day does the angel introduce it to the presence of God, who directs the angel to show it round heaven until the ninth day, when it again enters His presence. What happens until the fortieth day is not

stated, but only then does the soul have its final interview with God, when its lodging until the 'second coming' is assigned to it."

Has the material afforded by the canons themselves been thoroughly worked up? If so, this notice is probably superfluous, but the evidence supplied by these *νομοκάνονες* of what was regarded then as worthy of inclusion and translation into the vulgar tongue will always be of some value for the *history* of the survival of certain notions. If the material from the canons has not been extracted, someone ought to do it.

W. R. PATON.

Calymnos, Turkey.

MISCELLANEA.

Folk-lore Items from *North Indian Notes and Queries*, vol. iii.

POPULAR RELIGION.

244. Horoscope prepared by a Pandit for an English baby boy.

245. *Gorakhpur. Worship of Nur Chandra Chaubah.*—Story relating who he is and why he is worshipped. In marriage, the groom walks five times round his platform, having a corner of his garment *joined with that of his mother*. [Are there other traces of female kinship in this district?] *Hogs and black goats* offered to this saint.

246. *Mirzapur. Shrines.*—Offerings of *he-goats, sweets, cakes, fowls, and cloth*.

275. Life of St. Mangni Ram. (Not uninteresting to compare with European saints.)

276. *Fairies and Local Deities in Kumaon and Garhwal.*—Beautiful young women, who are fond of dancing and plucking sweet flowers from the hill-tops. They visit the earth to make merry; often fall in love. They have the evil eye, sometimes making women to be barren. They inspire girls with desire to dance wildly. (These girls are then *believed to be the fairies themselves*.) Offerings of *goat, rice, etc.*, and female dress and ornaments, the last *made in miniature* for economy. They are thought to be ghosts.

Names of the local deities; “not mentioned in any Puranas or Tantras.”

277. *Hissar. Local Beliefs.*—Various trees are worshipped.

278. (A localisation of the Dwarf Avatara of Vishnu.)

279. *Kumaon Superstitions.*—New clothes offered to a god before being worn. Fish are fed with little balls of flour, having the name of *Ram* written upon a piece of birch bark or paper. Fish are otherwise pure and holy, as being inhabitants of the water, but have no souls or conscience or knowledge of God. By putting the name of God in them they are given salvation, and this, of course, brings merit to the giver. [Readers of Æschylus will recall the phrase, ἀναύδων παῖδων τὰς ἀμύαντων, “voiceless children of the undefiled”, *Persæ* 579, which, taken in its connection, looks like an echo of the East. Undine and her kin have no souls.]

Charm against poison: red-hot iron bar.

Feast for the crows, who are the messengers of the god of Death.

Flour-cakes in *shape of doves* are made, because crows are fond of animal food. Some are strung in necklaces, others set aside for the crows. On the festival morn, the children lay the crow's share apart, and, wearing the necklets of dove-cakes, cry to the crows to come and eat. If they come at once it forebodes health and luck. They pray to the crows for blessing with this ditty :

"Crow, crow, take this soft cake ;

If you come to-morrow your neck I'll break!"

Sesame is the hair of God.

280. St. Ramdei. At his shrine are yearly cured one blind-eyes and one leper. A peculiarly modest miracle-worker.

316. *N. W. Provinces* (Eastern districts).—Songs of pilgrims to Jagannath.

317. *Gopālpur*.—In the spring the potters crucify a monkey, whereby the other monkeys should be scared away, and withal the demons that do damage to their crops. (The narrator thinks this is a survival of human sacrifice done in spring.)

319. *Cave Temples in Kumaon*.—In one of them is a cold pool, wherein the worshipper must bathe *with all his clothes on*. The *priest then takes these* as his perquisite, and the man puts on a new set. [This looks like the stage next before that in which a rag is left at the sacred well, as described in Mr. Hartland's paper.]

320. *Covered Images*.—Three instances of gods covered with lids so as to hide them quite. For one the story is told that the goddess used to climb on tree and ask the names of people, who then died. The lid apparently stops her.

ANTHROPOLOGY.

247. Almonds used for money in the "Empire of the Great Mogul" see § 11). Wooden tallies used in money transactions in Brittany, Normandy, Savoy, Lyons, the Auverne, and Basque regions.

249. Points of contrast between Europeans and Asiatics, traced to the use of flexor muscles by the Asiatic, and extensoral by the European, as above (§§ 648 and 705 of vol. ii).

251. *Lower Himalaya—Rajī Caste*. Exogamous, but do not marry two sisters ; monogamous, but keep concubines. Bride-price usually paid. Levirate, with restriction that only the younger brother of the husband can claim the widow. Babies named on the fifth day. No couvade, no adoption. Clothes and corpse-sheet of the dead laid and left upon the grave. The children and younger brothers of the dead get heads, beards, and moustaches shaved, and *throw the hair on the grave*. No loss of ceremonial purity after death, child-birth, or menstruation. Worship Devi by day (offering *goats*), demons by night (fowls) ; on hill-tops or under some great tree. Demons and

ghosts inhabit hill-tops, rivers, wells, and ponds. Omens taken from throbbings in the body ; those on the right side are lucky, on the left unlucky. In clearing the jungle they are exposed to the attacks of the demons of it, whom they propitiate by burying some animal bones, or hanging them on a tree hard by. They eat pigs, cloven-foot animals and fish. They have a dialect of their own, which is always spoken by the women and children ; the men can usually speak Hindi. Bride-price paid in coarse earthen vessels or implements for digging, which thus form a kind of rude currency. No priests ; the eldest male of a family does any ceremonies himself.

281. *Lodhia*, a game played by girls of the higher-class Hindus (Basti and Gorakhpur). A room set apart ; the girls enter. One makes a figure on the wall out of cow-dung, representing the goddess Gaura. They all cover it with flowers, sticking them in so that it looks as though made thereof. They make music with drums and other things. The chief waves a lamp over the image's head, with a song (words given). After much music they retire, the cow-dung and flowers being put aside. Next day a different figure is made, and so on till the fifteenth day, the *first day of the waxing moon*. Such figures are taken as husband and wife, peacock and peahen, Mahadeo's Temple, lotus-leaf, etc. On the final day, all the dung and flowers used in making the figures are put in a basket, which a girl carries on her head to a tank or river, and it is thrown into the water.

282. Likeness between Malays and the Orang.

283. *Karnal*. Rules for exogamy.

284. The *Agni-hotri*, or *Fire-Worshipper* of Kumaon, begins to worship fire from his wedding-day. The sacred fire from the marriage altar, which is held to be a witness of the ceremony, is taken in a copper vessel to his fire-pit. It is kept always alight, and his pyre is kindled from it. [*Jat.*, No. 162, turns on the worship of a "Birth-fire" by an anchorite.]

Mode of kindling the sacred fire by rubbing. It is supposed to be emblematic of the procreation of human beings, and upon the lower of the two pieces of wood are drawn the female emblems.

285. *Games from Kumaon*.—Tip-cat, hide-and-seek.

Charms for procuring Rain or the stopping of it.—(Some of them turn on the pity which Indra will feel for beings in trouble, and a dog or frog, or what not, is tormented for this purpose.) So in the Jatakas, a saint in trouble causes Indra's throne to grow hot, whereat he comes down to help.

Charms to stop Hail.—(Instances of imitative or sympathetic magic are found amongst these charms.)

Bonfire of grass around a pole wreathed with flowers and cucumbers on the first day of Asoj or Kuar, with explanatory myth.

Evil Eye : pollution by touch (in one case cow's urine counteracts it). If a man finds a snake crossing his path he must put a *rag torn off his clothes* on the track of it, else he falls sick. Two snakes fighting or intertwined foreshow death, unless he *casts away the clothes he wears*, bathes, etc.

286. *Beena Marriage*.—A youth in the Vindhya mountains serves his father-in-law for the bride, like Jacob. He often serves eight or ten years.

287. Buddhists of Tibet use *trumpets* made of the *human thigh-bone*.

322. *Tibetan Kinship*.—Tables of names, in which I note that father's elder brother is called *big father*, his wife, *big mother*; father's younger brother, *little father*, his wife, *little mother*. ["Aunt" in Latin is *matertera*, which means really something like "other mother".]

323. *Mirzapur*. Rustic Games.—One is played with mango leaves, and the central person is called "Thief". Ball. In one, the runner must not be out of breath.

324. Charms to keep demons away from babies during the mother's isolation. Thorny plant hung at the door; fire kept burning there with a piece of iron in it. Visitors wash their feet and warm them over this fire; guns fired.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

Blood Covenant.—Miss Russell points out to me that in Mr. Bret Harte's *Sally Dows*, the heroine having sucked the young man's blood from a snake-bite wound, is told by an old negress that she can marry nobody else, as this has bound them together. This is the converse of the idea that blood communion bars sexual intercourse, an idea exemplified in many European stories of the Swan-Maid type, the oldest British Isles instance being that of Cuchulainn and the Daughter of the King of Lochlann, which is at least as old as the twelfth century and in all likelihood centuries older. Some of the readers of FOLK-LORE may be able to cite further examples of the belief held by Mr. Bret Harte's negress. The opposing views may possibly coincide with differences of race or with differences of culture-development.

A. NUTT.

Fire o' Stones.—I cannot quite agree with one of your contributors that the "Fire o' Stones" custom has died out altogether. A year or two ago I read of an instance in which the old ritual had been employed by an evicted tenant. I cannot, unluckily, be sure whether he was of Fermanagh or another county; but I remember the incident of scattering the stones afterwards all over the countryside.

NORA HOPPER.

Irish Folk-lore Items, collected at Kingstown, co. Dublin, save when otherwise mentioned.

Magpie.—The ill luck of meeting a single magpie can be averted by nodding nine times over the left shoulder.

Wagtail.—Each has three drops of the devil's blood, hence it is difficult or impossible to shoot one. (*King's County*.)

[The bird, *teste* Swainson, p. 45, is known as the Devil's bird in Ireland. This statement may be an attempted explanation of the name.]

Pins and Needles.—To stop the pricking in the foot, wet the popliteal space with saliva.

Fingers.—If a person habitually and without intent clasp the hands, interlacing the fingers, so that the right thumb is over the left, it shows that he or she has a strong will. If the left is over the right, a weak will. I think there is the same idea about crossing the legs, but I am not sure.

B. C. A. WINDLE.

[Prof. Windle, as a trained anatomist and physiologist, may be able to say if there is any basis of fact for this belief. I have tried it on myself and two friends; we all cross our hands in the same way, but, so far as I know, we are of varying strength of will.—A. N.]

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G. Sajaktzis, Gräcowalachische Sitten und Gebräuche. *P. Sar-
 tori*, Der Schuh im Volksglauben. *J. Bolte*, Das Kinderlied vom
 Herrn von Ninive. *R. Wossidlo*, Der Tod im Munde des meck-
 lenburgischen Volkes. *F. Vogt*, Beiträge zur deutschen Volks-
 kunde aus älteren Quellen. *A. Pichler*, Tirolische Volksdichtung
 Die Sitten der Türken in Bulgarien. Aus dem Volke selbst
 gesammelt von S. Ivanoff.—iv, 3. *F. Lukas*, Das Ei als kosmo-
 gonische Vorstellung. *H. F. Feilberg*, Die Zahlen im dänischen
 Brauch und Volksglauben. *K. Maurer*, Die Hölle auf Island.
 Die Sitten der Türken in Bulgarien. Aus dem Volke selbst
 gesammelt von S. Ivanoff. *F. Ilwof*, Haus- und Hofmarken.
P. Sartori, Der Schuh im Volksglauben (*Fortsetzung*). *A.
 Herrmann*, Der volkstümliche Kalenderglaube in Ungarn.

Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. V.]

DECEMBER, 1894.

[No. IV.]

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 20th, 1894.

THE President (Mr. G. Laurence Gomme, F.S.A.) in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The admission of the Public Library, Providence, U.S.A., was announced.

The following books, which had been presented to the Society, were laid on the table, viz.: "Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folk-lore of N.W. India," by Mr. Crooke, B.A.; "Les travaux publics et les mines," by M. Paul Sébillot.

Mrs. E. F. Andrews exhibited the following, viz.: Kafir bangles for the arm and leg, a Kafir pipe, Kafir snuffboxes, a Kafir porridge spoon, a club used by Kafir women for despatching the wounded, a necklace of ant's eggs made by aged Kafir women, a pair of Basuto bangles, a silver bracelet (North American demon and totem), a specimen of Kafir sculpture, and a photograph of Kafir dressing skins with sharp stones.

A note by Mr. R. Weir Schultz, on a London popular custom called "Tommy on the Tub's Grave," communicated by Mr. J. G. Frazer, was read by the President (see *infra*, p. 290).

A note by Mr. Babington Smith on an Indian custom, communicated by Mr. J. G. Frazer, was also read (see *infra*, p. 340).

Mr. M. J. Walhouse read a paper, entitled "Ghostly Lights" (*infra* p. 293), and a discussion followed, in which Miss Burne, Messrs. Nutt and Higgens, Dr. Gaster, and the President took part.

Prof. Kuno Meyer then read his paper on "The Old Norwegian Speculum Regale" (*infra*, p. 299), and in the discussion which followed, the President, Mr. Nutt, Dr. Gaster, and Miss Burne took part.

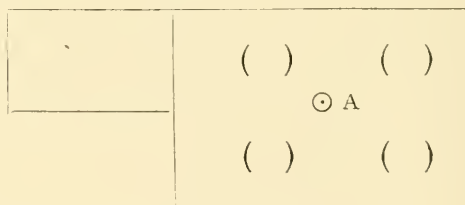
A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Professor Meyer for his paper.

Mr. Brabrook presented a report of the progress of the work of the Ethnographical Committee.

"TOMMY ON THE TUB'S GRAVE."

Mr. Robert Weir Schultz, of 14, Gray's Inn Square, wrote on the 24th May 1894, to Mr. J. G. Frazer as follows :—

"Last evening I was much interested, in passing through Bloomsbury Square, by some children coming up to me with hand extended, and saying, "Please to remember Tommy on the tub's grave." I found that they had got, set out on the pavement, a little arrangement like a cemetery, made principally of sand, and of this shape—



It was enclosed with sand walls, and there were various hieroglyphics arranged in sand inside, and having flowers (cowslips, I think) laid on them. In the centre, at A, was a large bunch of flowers on a bigger heap, and this was pointed out to me as the "tub's grave". On asking what it

was all about they could not tell me, but this I learned, that they only did it once a year, and that they had always done it, *i.e.*, I suppose that it was handed down by the older boys to the younger ones, and so on. I thought perhaps it might be some old survival, and that you might be interested to hear of it, but of course it may have no significance. I shall be glad to know if there is anything in it.

Writing further on May 25th Mr. Schultz adds:—

"I am glad my information interested you. I have been out this evening trying to glean further information, but with small result. I interviewed a group of boys in Red Lion Passage, and I found that they all knew about it, but could not throw much light on the subject. I gathered this much, that it is only done at the time the flowers come out. One boy said, "It's to welcome the spring"; they call it a "show". The children do it and then ask for coppers for the show: this is what I found. They said I would see it in Lincoln's Inn Fields, probably, to-morrow night. They all called it "Tommy on the Tub", and their description tallied with the one I saw. It seems to be done not on any particular day, but just about this time of year, and no doubt they get tired of it after doing it once or twice. I asked what it meant, and one boy volunteered the information that no one knew what it meant, but that they all learnt it, and so it is passed on. They say it is done in different ways by different children, but they all call it by the same name."

In forwarding the letter, Mr. Frazer notes as interesting the fact that the custom is observed at the time when the flowers come out, as a way of welcoming the spring. He also states that the custom is quite new to him.

In the discussion which followed the reading of Mr. Frazer's communication, Mr. Emslie mentioned that he had recently become acquainted with the custom in a street leading out of Lincoln's Inn Fields.

Since the above was put in type, the following informa-

tion has been obtained from Mr. Edward Field, of 11, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, who writes as follows :—

“I have on several occasions early in Spring seen children playing a game called ‘Tommy on the Tub’s Grave’ against the wall on the east side of Lincoln’s Inn Fields. The ‘properties’ are grass, flowers, and sand or earth. A square is made on the pavement, sometimes of grass, sometimes of flowers, and inside are little heaps of sand or earth, on the top of which flowers are placed, and these heaps are called the graves. One grave, placed in the middle, is usually larger than the others, and has more flowers on it. The proprietors of this ‘show’ are usually armed with a shell, in which they hope to collect money from the passers-by. How much money they get, and what they do with it when they get it, I know not. I will keep a particular look-out for this game next spring, and if I can glean any useful information on it and its origin from the children I will let you have it.”

[It is, I think, unnecessary to dwell upon the interest of the foregoing communications. Here we have a game which has escaped the attention of all previous observers noted by three independent witnesses, in the same district of London, within the last three years at the farthest. The conclusion would seem obvious that the game or custom is of recent origin, and has not yet had time to spread beyond its centre of origin. Yet it presents features of an undoubtedly primitive character, and may be, apart from the question of recent origin, as legitimately connected with archaic custom as many of the games studied by Mrs. Gomme in her *Dictionary of British Folk-lore*.

It is very desirable to collect all possible information concerning this game, and communications are asked from all who can throw any light upon the subject. Has the game or custom been noticed elsewhere in London or in the country, at what date, and at what season of the year? Can a more detailed description be given than that of Mr. Schultz and Mr. Field?—ALFRED NUTT.]

GHOSTLY LIGHTS.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE.

The popular belief in ghostly fires seen wandering at night exists, sometimes with curious points of resemblance, in widely separated countries. Crofton Croker, in the third part of his *Irish Fairy Legends and Traditions*, has given an account, with many instances, of the corpse-candles (*canwyll gorf*) in Wales, once generally believed in there, nor yet entirely discredited. These were small lights seen to issue from the beds of sick persons, and pass thence to the churchyard along the way the funerals were afterwards to go, for they were sure forerunners of death. If one were met on the road it was dangerous to stand in its way. Some, who went aside as it passed, could discern a dark shadow carrying a light between its forefingers, others have seen the likeness of a candle carried in a skull. In a paper read before the Bengal Asiatic Society, Mr. Theobald relates that Will-o'-the-wisps are often seen in the flat marshy country under the Rajmahal Hills, and are called Bhûtni, from Bhûta, a goblin. The people say they are borne by ghosts; Mr. Theobald also says that in Burmah there is a tribe of wizards or conjurors, whose heads are believed to leave their bodies during the night and wander in the jungle feeding on carrion, and the *ignis fatuus* is said to issue from their mouths; if one of these heads be seized it screams and struggles to escape, and if kept away from the body for more than twelve hours both perish. This curiously resembles the shadow and skull-borne corpse-candles of Welsh superstition.

I lately met with a curious account of somewhat similar appearances in Germany, where on the high road leading to Sömmerda, in Thuringia, people travelling by night see a lantern held by a hand only, no other part of a body being visible, which accompanies them to the town-gate, when it disappears. Many of the old folks profess to have seen it; one of them related that his grandfather saw it while walking on the road late in the evening. On coming near he uttered

a friendly greeting, thinking it was a wayfarer, but saw, to his amazement, that the light came from a lantern held by a hand only. He was one of the "common-sense people", who scouted the supernatural and would not believe the evidence of his eyes, so he struck with his stick at the light, and was instantly hurled with terrible force to the ground, where he lay for a time senseless; on coming to himself he could not find his way, and only reached his home after midnight. So in Wales, anyone rashly interfering with or attempting to stop a corpse-candle was struck down and stunned. It is ill jesting with these appearances.

In the extreme south of India the Shānārs, a very numerous caste of devil-worshippers, believe that waste places, and especially burial-grounds, are haunted by demons that assume various shapes, one after another, as often as the eye of the observer turns away, and are often seen gliding over marshy land like flickering lights. They are called in Tamil *pey-neruppu*, i.e., devil-fires. Riding late after dark over a jungly tract near mountains I once saw what the natives with me averred was a *pey-neruppu*; it seemed a ball of pale flame, the size of an orange, moving in a fitful wavering way above the bushes and passing out of sight behind trees; its movements resembled the flight of an insect, but I know of none in India that shows any such light; the fire-flies there are no larger than fire-flies in Italy. The Rev. Baring Gould, however, expresses the opinion that all beliefs and stories about Will-o'-the-wisps arose from the flight of luminous insects. It may, however, be remarked that Drayton and the old poets, who often refer to Will-o'-the-wisps in days when they seem to have been commoner than now, put them in the hands of a mischievous sprite, such as Puck or Friar Rush, once the device of the *Folk-Lore Journal*—

"Who leading us make us to stray
Long *winter* nights out of our way,
And when we stick in mire and clay,
He does with laughter leave us." (*Drayton.*)

Now, luminous insects would certainly not be abroad in winter. Those tricky habits of misleading belated travellers ascribed to English sprites, do not enter into popular belief in the East.

A strange kind of ghostly lights, on an extensive scale, is sometimes to be seen in the Mysore province of the Madras Presidency. The great hill-fortress of Nandi-drûg rises some 1,500 feet above the plain; the fort on the top includes many buildings and commands wide prospects. It is thirty miles from the large military cantonment of Bangalore, and much resorted to. From the top the remarkable exhibition known as "the Nandidrûg lights" is now and then seen. Not having witnessed it myself I will copy an account that appeared in a Madras newspaper. The correspondent writes, that being on a visit to the fort, and looking at night from his window, which commanded a wide view over the country below, he was amazed at seeing the whole expanse for miles one blaze of light, the appearance being as of a vast city lighted by gas—hundreds and thousands of lights extending for miles, dancing and glittering in all directions—a weird yet beautiful sight. On asking what was the meaning of it, he was told "it was the bodies of all those who were killed in battle at Nandi; they all come up at this time with lights in their hands." Such was the native belief. I do not know whether any explanation has been offered of the phenomenon, or how often it occurs. In Norwegian folk-lore the little islands off the coast inhabited by the Dwarfs, were, on festival occasions, lit up with countless blue lights, that moved and skipped about without ceasing, borne by the little underground people; and the grave-mounds of heroes emitted lambent flames that guarded the dead and treasure buried with them. Five years ago, when in Brittany and looking over the marvellous array of huge stones at Carnac, I tried to elicit from a boy who guided us any popular beliefs regarding them. It was not easy to understand him, and I could only gather that on certain nights a flame was seen

burning on every stone, and on such nights no one would go near; the stones are there believed to mark burial-places. Amongst the Indians of New England, and the Eskimo, lights seen on the roofs of their wigwams and huts portend death. Lights seem everywhere associated with death. Mahommedans place lamps in small triangular recesses made in the heads of their tombs. The custom of *chapelles ardentes* may have had some such origin.

A belief, allied to the present subject, prevails in some parts of India that, when a man has been killed by a tiger, his ghost sits upon the tiger's forehead and guides the beast on its nightly prowl for prey; the cunning and wariness of old man-eaters is ascribed to this ghostly guidance. I had often heard of this belief, and once heard a story at first hand from an old native shikary, who professed to have seen an instance. The great river Cavèry runs across the peninsula from the Western Ghauts to the Bay of Bengal on the East. About midway on its course it passes a wild, thinly-inhabited jungly tract; in the district of Coimbatore, a tiger had for a considerable time haunted this tract and killed several persons, amongst them a Brahman. A double reward had been offered for killing it without avail, and it was rumoured that the Brahman's ghost sat on its head and warned it of any danger. The people became afraid to go from one village to another, and at last sent for the most renowned and experienced shikary of that country side. He was a tall, gaunt, elderly man, who well knew the habits of all beasts of the jungle, and had killed numbers in his day. The tiger had for some time been prowling round one of the villages in the jungle, and the old shikary, after surveying the ground, mounted at dusk, with his long gun, into a tree commanding some open spaces on the village outskirts, where he thought it likely the tiger would come. Towards midnight he saw a light gleaming and winding amongst the bushes. Presently it passed across an open, and he could dimly discern the figure of the tiger stealing along with the light apparently

upon its head. It passed near the tree in which he was watching, when such a thrill of dread came over him, and his hands and limbs shook so, that he could not level his gun, even if he had had the nerve. Such was the tale the old man told me with many asseverations ; in all his life he had never had such an experience.

Some of the wandering tribes in India, much resembling gipsies, of whom, indeed, they are probably the original stock, have another theory as to Will-o'-the-wisps. They have a curious dislike to blowing out or suddenly extinguishing a flame without previously lighting another at it, and so continuing its life. They have an idea that a flame or fire, abruptly cut off and extinguished is, in a manner, murdered, and becomes a ghost, wandering in the shape of a flickering light over waste grounds and marshes. An officer on a shooting expedition in the Malabar forests told me that coming across a camp of Lambârdies, a gipsy clan, he pitched his tent near them, and thinking they would know where big game would be found, sent for two of them to his tent. When they arrived he was engaged in sealing several letters, etc., at a lamp on his table, and when he had finished, blew it out, whereupon the two Lambârdies, abruptly turning, left the tent without ceremony, and hastily departed. The officer was much surprised at this behaviour and want of respect, and subsequently learnt that on his blowing out the lamp they were afraid lest the ghost of the flame should haunt and affect them injuriously.

Although Will-o'-the-wisps seem now to have left Britain, along with their kinsfolk the fairies, for in these days when ghosts and spooks are so zealously looked up, no instances of them are ever heard of, it is remarkable that amongst another race and in another land " Wispy Will " appears yet to live and flourish, but to have changed his mischievous frolicsome habits for a malignant vampire-like disposition. In her very curious volume, *Old Rabbit the Voodoo*, Miss Mary A. Owen has reproduced at length the

beliefs, superstitions, and traditions of the negro population in Missouri, taken down from the lips of old negresses, steeped in the folk-lore, wildly grotesque, of their race. Much of it probably echoes from their original African abodes. The eighteenth chapter is devoted to stories of "Jacky-mi-Lantuhns" or "Wuller Wups", as told by old aunts and grannies to listeners of a younger generation. The whole book is printed faithfully in the negro dialect, a jargon so grotesque that I could not undertake to read the passages quoted, nor even to copy them as printed, but must transcribe them in ordinary terms. The ancient granny describes "Jacky-mi-Lantuhns" or "Wuller-Wups", thus: "When men who have been running after other folks' wives have been enticed on amid marshes and drowned, the Devil's old woman goes and catches their spirits, and ties them up in big bladders, and lights them and turns them loose in the bogs and sloughs, and so they fool and entice other sinners into the bogs, making them think they see a man or woman with a lantern ; this is the way they draw folks on. There is a man-jacky and a woman-jacky. If a man going along in the night loses the road, he sees in front of him what he is certain is a woman with a lantern. He sees the lantern plain, and he thinks he sees the woman: but he can't see her plain, and he follows and he follows—he can't help it—and he thinks he hears her say something, though he can't tell what, so he follows on through the mud, and down in the slosh he falls, from which he won't get out till the Judgment Day. If a woman lose the road, she imagines she sees a man with a light, and she tries to catch him up, and follows and follows, till down she goes" (p. 274). Much of this, as well as the names of the misleading lights, seem to be echoes of Old-English tradition, though how it became current amongst the negroes in America is not clear.

But the negro imagination gives a more gruesome and "voodoo" colour to these stories, for the old witch-negress goes on to tell her hearers that "the worst kind of jacky-

mi-lantuhns don't come out of marshes, but out of graveyards, and stun drowning folk, and then suck out their blood and leave them as dry as husks ; that kind of Wuller-Wups are the worst, because they grow from sucking the life out of creatures till they are as tall as big cotton-wood trees, and the creatures they have sucked to death get up and go on in the same business, and they too grow and grow, appearing in fiery shape, but all their life is on the outside, and their hearts are as cold as death" (p. 280). The last touch seems peculiarly horrible, and their malignant vampire-like habits have no counterpart in English folklore, but must be due to African imagination. I do not know whether any Will-o'-the-wisp conceptions and stories are current amongst the Red Indians.

THE IRISH MIRABILIA IN THE NORSE "SPECULUM REGALE".

BY KUNO MEYER.

Kongs Skuggsjo, or *Speculum Regale*, is the title of an old Norse book written about 1250 A.D.¹ An outline of its contents is as follows.

In an introduction the writer says that, anxious for instruction and advice on various matters pertaining to the proper conduct of life, he applied to his wise and kind father, who gave him full answers to all his questions. The son was then asked by several distinguished and learned men, who had been present at these conversations, to put them all in writing. He did so, and called his book *Speculum Regale*, not boastfully, but because it was to be as a mirror to men, and because, among other things, rules for the conduct of kings are set forth therein. Lastly, he says that for the reader or hearer of the book it is not

¹ See Vigfusson and Powell, *Icelandic Prose Reader*, p. 425. I have used the editions of Halldan Einersen, 1768, and of Oscar Brenner, Munich, 1881.

necessary to know the writer's name and rank, lest from animosity, envy, or enmity towards the author, he should despise whatever useful things may be found in the book.

The book then takes the form of a dialogue between the father and son, and begins in this way :—

The Son : ‘ Good-day, sir. I have come to see you as it behoves an obedient and humble son to approach a loving and distinguished father, and I desire to ask you to have patience in listening to my questions and kindness in answering them.’

The Father : ‘ Since thou art my only son, it pleases me well that thou shouldst often come to see me, for we have many things to talk about, and I promise thee that I shall willingly listen to thy questions, and answer whatever thou mayst reasonably ask me.’

The Son : ‘ I have heard that common report, which I believe to be true, says that there are few wiser men in this land than you. Besides, you have spent your life with kings, and are an authority on questions of government and of law. Now, as I am to be the heir of your worldly possessions, I should also like to become the heir of your wisdom ; wherefore I would ask you to impart to me, as it were, the alphabet or elements of knowledge, so that I may benefit by your further instruction and follow in your footsteps.’

Thereupon the father, though he says he has been rather a king's man than a merchant, enlarges in the first place upon the duties of a merchant, on integrity, knowledge of law and of languages, bringing up of children, intercourse with men and with princes, rules of navigation, investment of capital, the times of day, the course of the sun, winds, seasons, moon, and tide, summer and winter in northern Norway. He then dwells on the thankless task of relating ‘ wonders’ of distant lands such as India, and generally objects to speaking about things which he has not seen with his own eyes, or heard of himself. Accordingly, he proceeds to mention some wonderful things which may be

found in Norway itself, such as snow-shoes, and a lake which turns wood into stone.

But here the patience of the son is exhausted, and he interrupts his father by saying: 'These things are all known to me, as they are in this country, and I have seen them all. I should like to hear of Iceland, Greenland, and Ireland.'

The father then, without further objection, begins to speak of Iceland, its earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, subterranean fires, springs of ale, etc.

When the father has said all he knows about Iceland, the son repeats his question as to Greenland and Ireland, and then follows the section on Ireland, with which I propose to deal more particularly, and which I will translate *in extenso*. It will be seen that most of the stories told about Ireland are of the character of *Mirabilia*. Now, our two main sources of Irish *Mirabilia* are the Irish collections of such stories, most of which have been edited by Todd, in his edition of the *Irish Nennius*, pp. 192-219, and the *Topographia Hiberniæ* of Giraldus Cambrensis. *A priori* there is no reason why our Norse author should not have been acquainted with either of these, or should not have taken his materials from either of them. For Giraldus brought out his book in 1188, and of some at least of the Irish *Mirabilia* there existed Latin translations as early as the ninth century (*Nennius*). We shall see how far our author's treatment of the subject favours such an hypothesis.

Having mentioned that both Iceland and Greenland are such poor and wretched countries that they may hardly be inhabited, the father proceeds:

1. "Ireland, on the other hand, is almost the best of lands¹ that men know, though wine does not grow there.² And

¹ *Ní bia co airther in domuin inis bus fherr*, 'There shall be no better island as far as the east of the world,' says the woman Eriu to the sons of Míl (the Milesians), *LL.* p. 13a.

² *Gir. i, 6: Pascuis et pratis, melle et lacte, vinis, non vineis, dives est insula.*

there are many things in it that must seem wonderful, and for some of these the land must be called holier than other lands.

2. It lies in that part of the world where both heat and cold are so well tempered that it never grows too hot nor too cold there. There is never too much heat there to be harmful in summer, nor too much cold to be harmful in winter, so that in every winter all cattle graze outside, both sheep and neat; and men are there almost without clothes both winter and summer.

3. Again, that land is so holy beyond other lands, that no venomous creature may thrive therein, neither snakes nor toads, and though such be carried thither from other lands, they die at once as soon as they touch the bare earth or stone. And if anything be taken out of that land, either wood or earth or sand, and carried into other lands where venomous creatures are, and if with that sand or earth a ring be formed around them where they lie, then they never after come out of that ring, but lie therein all dead. Likewise, if you take wood which comes out of the land about which we now speak, and draw it in a circle around them, so that you mark the earth with the wood, then they all lie dead within that ring.

Ir. Nenn. p. 219: 'There live no toads nor snakes nor dragons¹ in all Ireland, and even though they be brought from other places into it, they die immediately; and this has been tested. Except the mouse, the wolf, and the fox, there has not been, and there shall not be any noxious animal in it.' Cf. also Stokes, *Trip. Life*, p. xxix. This freedom from venomous creatures is now popularly ascribed to the prayers of St. Patrick. None of his biographies, however, except that of Jocelin (A.D. 1120), mention such an incident, nor have I ever found it mentioned in other native sources. It is probable that the expulsion of venomous creatures from Ireland was first ascribed to St. Patrick by the

¹ Todd omits *nó dracoin* in his Irish text, and 'nor dragons' in his translation.

Norse, through a popular interpretation of his name as *Pad-rekr*, 'toad-expeller', from *padda*, 'toad', and *reka*, 'to expel'.¹—Gir. i, 28 and 29.

4. This is also said about Ireland, that no other island of its size contains an equally large number of holy men.

5. This is also said, that the people who inhabit that land are both fierce among themselves and bloodthirsty and very savage; but however bloodthirsty they are, and however many holy men there are in their land, they never slew one of them, and all these holy men that there are have died through sickness; because they that are fierce among themselves have ever been kindly towards all good men and holy.

Solin. 22, 3: '*Gens inhospita et bellicosa. Sanguine interemptorum hausto prius victores vultus suos oblinunt. Fas ac nefas eodem loco ducunt.*' Giraldu's remarks on the character of the Irish are well known. The curious statement that in spite of this temper of the inhabitants there were no Irish martyrs, is also in Giraldu (iii, 31), where see also the spirited retort of the Archbishop of Cashel to Giraldu's sneering remark. That there were no Irish martyrs is, of course, not correct, though certainly out of the large number of Irish saints very few are stated to have suffered martyrdom.

6. There is also a certain lake in that land, about the nature of which a wonder is told. That lake is called in their tongue *Loch Echach* (Lough Neagh). That lake is very large in size. And this is the nature of that water. If you take the wood that some call *beinwið*, and some *hulfr* (holly), and which in Latin is called *acrifolium*, and you place it in the water so that some of it stands in the earth below, and some in the water, and some up out of the water, then that which stands in the earth below turns into iron, and that which is in the water into stone, and the wood

¹ In the *Leabhar Breac* Life of St. Columba (Stokes, *Three Irish Homilies*, p. 121) that saint is said to have banished toads and snakes out of Iona.

that stands out of the water remains as it was. But if you take wood of another kind than this, it does not change its nature, though you place it in this water.

This is the second wonder in Todd (p. 195), but told somewhat differently and with the addition that the wood must be seven years in the water.—*Nennius*, § 76.—Not in Giraldus.—There are several lakes called *Loch Cuilinn* (Holly-lake) in Ireland. See *Oss. Soc.* vi, p. 120.

7. There are also two springs in the mountain that is called *Bladma* (Slieve Bloom), which is almost a waste, and those springs have a wonderful nature. The one spring has this nature, if you take either a white sheep or a neat or a horse or a man that has white hair, and you bathe any one of these in that water, they become forthwith coal-black. And this is the nature of the other spring, if a man washes himself therein, whatsoever colour he has, whether he was red or white or black, then he becomes snow-white of hair, as if he were an old man.

Both the Irish *Mirabilia* (p. 197) and Giraldus (ii, 7) tell quite a different wonder of a well in Slieve Bloom. But cf. the wonder of the well Galloon, co. Monaghan (Todd, p. 195), and of a well in Munster (Gir. ii, 7) which turns human hair grey.

8. There is also a lake in that land, which they call *Loghica* (?) in their tongue. In this lake is a small islet, as if it were a floating isle. It floats about the water and comes sometimes so close to the land that a man may step on to it. And that happens most often on the Lord's days. And this is the nature of that islet: if the man who steps on it is sick, whatever disease he may have, and he eats of the grass that grows on the islet, then he is cured at once. It is also part of its nature that no more ever get on to it at the same time than one, though many wish it, because the islet at once floats from the land when one man has got on to it. This nature also the islet has, that it floats for six years together in that lake; and as soon as the six years are gone, then it floats to land at some place,

and grows with the other land, as if it had always been with it. And when that time comes, then it sounds to men as if a great din came, like a thunderclap, and after, when the thunder has gone, men see such another islet in the water as before there was, of the same size and the same nature. And so it happens every seventh year after another, that as soon as one islet grows with the mainland, then comes another, and yet no one knows whence it comes.

I do not know which lake is meant by *Loghica*. There is nothing either in the Irish *Mirabilia* or in Giraldus at all like this story. But Giraldus tells a similar story of one of the lakes on Snowdon, and in a seventeenth-century *Memorial of the most rare and wonderfull things in Scotland*, by John Monipennie,¹ I find the following :—‘ In Lennox is a great loch, called Loch Lowmond, 24 miles in length, and in bredth 8 miles, containing the number of 30 isles. In this loch is observed 3 wonderfull things . . . the 3rd is one of these isles that is not corroborat, nor united to the ground, but hath beene perpetually loose ; and although it bee fertill of good grasse, and replenished with neate, yet it mooves by the waves of the water, and is transported some times towards one point, and otherwhiles towards another.’

9. Then there is also a small island in that land, which in their tongue is called *Inhisgluer* (Inishglory). There is a large settlement of men in that island, and there is a church in it, because there are as many people in the island as a parish must have. And though men die there, they are not buried in the earth, but they are raised up round about the church in the churchyard, and stand upright like living men with all their limbs all dried, and all their hair and nails unscathed, and they never decay, and birds never perch on them. And in that way anyone that lives afterwards may there recognise his father or his father’s father, and all his race, from whom he is descended.

¹ Printed at Brittaines Bursse, by John Budge, 1612. Reprinted 1820, Glasgow, in the *Miscellanea Scotica*, vol. i, pp. 198-202.

This is the first wonder in Todd, p. 193, but the standing corpses are not mentioned. Gir. ii, 6, tells the same wonder of Arann.

10. There is also a large water, which is called *Logri* (Loch Ree). And in that water lies a small island, in which are men of pure life whom one may call what he likes, either *canonici* or hermits. And they are in such great numbers that there is a full convent of them. Sometimes they are more numerous. And of that island it is told that it is wholesome and not visited by diseases, and men grow old later there than in other places on the mainland. And as soon as men grow so old, or sicken, so that they see the day of their end appointed by God, then they have to be moved out of it to some place on the land where they may die. For nobody may in that island lose his life from illness; though men may sicken in it, yet they die not before they are removed out of it.

I do not know which island in Loch Ree is meant. Nothing exactly like this is found in Todd. The 31st wonder (p. 217) comes nearest to it: 'The island of Loch Cré . . . no sinner can die on it, and no power can bury him in it.' Gir. ii, 4, has a short remark about an 'insula viventium', where no one can die a natural death, and which he places on a lake in North Munster which would do for Loch Cré.

11. There is also a large lake, which in their tongue they call *Loghærne* (Lough Erne). In that lake are a great quantity of that kind of fish which men call salmon, and that fish goes in such numbers round their whole land that they have more than enough for their sustenance.

Cf. Gir. ii, 9.

12. There are also many islands in that lake, and one of them in their tongue they call *Kertinagh*. That island would be suitable to inhabit for many reasons, if men durst inhabit it. But it is related about this island that devils have as great power over one half of it as in hell itself. And at those times when daring men have done it

for trial, then have they afterwards said that they have suffered there as many pains and torments as is told that souls suffer in hell. But in the other half of the island there is a church and a churchyard around it, and both halves are now deserted. And it is said that over that half of the island in which the church stands the devils have no power.

Not mentioned in the Irish *Mirabilia*. Cf. Gir. ii, 5, who does not mention the name of the lake nor of the island. I do not know which island is meant by Kertinagh.

13. There also happens in this land what must seem very wonderful, that men have caught in a wood a certain animal, of which no man could say whether it was a man or a beast, because men have not heard speech from it, nor did they observe that it understood the speech of men. And yet it was grown in all things like a man, both with hands and feet and a man's face, save that hair grew all over its body as with other animals. And along its back there stood a mane as on a horse, which fell down on both sides, so that it dragged on the earth whenever the creature stooped down.

Gir. ii, 21: 'The half-ox man' (?). Nothing like this in Todd.

I think now that I have mentioned most of those things that are there of the nature of the land itself, and of which men think that they are true. Yet there are some other wonderful things which are not of the nature of the land, but of the miracles of holy and wise men, which we know for certain to be true. Some things there are, of which we do not know for certain whether they are true or not, otherwise than from the talk of men, and that they are in general report there in the land. But the following things we know to be certainly true.

14. In that lake which we mentioned before, and which is called *Loghri* (Loch Ree), there lies a small island called *Iniscloedran*. There was a holy man who was called Diermicius, and he had there a church for himself, where he

had his seat. And into the church or the churchyard of which he is the patron, no female creature may enter ; and they all know that, yea both birds and other creatures that are without human reason know this just as men, and no female animal tries to enter that churchyard, and none succeeds though it try.

The Ir. *Mir.* (p. 217) tell this of an island on Loch Cré (cf. § 10, above), and Gir. (ii, 4) of a lake in Munster. But the *Martyrology of Donegal*, p. 400, has this entry : ‘Diarmait, bishop of Inis Clothrann on Loch Ree in Cuircne. And no woman or young female child can touch his churchyard. And a Saxon heretic woman who violated it cried out and died immediately.’ Here, then, the Norse version offers a combination or confusion of two different Irish stories, one relating to Diarmait’s churchyard in Inis Clothrann, the other relating to an island on Loch Cré.

15. There was also in that land a holy man called Kewinus, in that place which is called *Glinnelaga* (Glen-dalough). And he was as it were a hermit, and in his time this event happened of which we will now tell. It so befel that he had with him a young man, a kinsman of his, who served him, and he was very fond of the lad. This lad began to sicken before him, and his illness became so heavy and great that he expected to die. That was in the time about spring in the month of March, when the diseases of man become sorest. And then it so happened that the lad asked of Kewinus, his kinsman, that he should give him apples, and said that his illness would grow less if he got what he asked him. And there was no likelihood at that time of getting apples, because on all the fruit-trees the buds were then first beginning to sprout into leaves. But because the holy Kewinus was much grieved at the sickness of his kinsman, and because he was unable to procure what he asked, he began to pray and asked God that he might send him such things from which his kinsman might derive comfort as he desired. And when he

had ended his prayer, he went out and sat down a short distance from his house. There stood a large-sized willow-tree. He looked up into the branches of the tree as if expecting mercy and some comfort from there. Then at once he saw that apples had grown on that willow as if it were on an apple-tree in its proper time, and he took from it the three apples and brought them to the lad. When the lad had eaten of those apples, his disease began to lessen, and he was cured. And that willow-tree has ever since retained the gift which God gave to it then; for in every year it bears apples like an apple-tree, and these have ever since been called 'Saint Kevin's apples'. And they are taken throughout all Ireland so that men may eat thereof if they fall ill, and they seem to get relief thereby. These apples are good for all diseases of men, though they are not desirable to eat for the sake of sweetness.

Gir. ii, 28. Not in the Ir. *Mir.* An alder-tree, which the celebrated Bishop of Cashel, Cormac mac Cuilennain, planted in Inishcaltra, is said to have borne apples.¹ Nennius (§ 70) tells of an ash-tree near the mouth of the Wye bearing apples.

Hitherto we have mentioned those things only which were done through holiness, and which remain to-day as witnesses of the event, and seem as wonderful now as on the first day when they were done. Yet there are other things which men hold certainly for true, and which we may now also show forth.

16. There is also in that land the place which is called *Themer* (Tara), and that place was once as it were the chief seat and king's castle; yet it is now deserted, because men dare not inhabit it. And the cause why that place became deserted is this. All the people of the land believed that the king who sat in that place would always give right judgments and none other. And though they

¹ *Harl.* 5280, fo. 42: Cormac mac Cuilennain is e tuc in fernoc co hlniss Celtra coruscandustair a richd abla hi ocus dorinde Dia ferta fair-siomh corofasatar ubla fuirre amail cech n-abail n-ailli.

were heathen in other respects, and had no true faith in God, yet they had this belief so steadfastly, that they thought that whatever the king judged was rightly judged, and never thought that wrong judgment should be given from that king's seat. Now, where the height of the hill seemed to be, there the king had a fair castle and well made. In that castle the king had a fair and large hall, such as it behoved him to sit in as a judge of men. But once it so happened that matters came before the king to be tried, in which were his friends on one side, whose cause the king greatly favoured, and on the other his enemies. And thus it happened that the king inclined his judgment more after his pleasure than according to justice. And when, against all expectation, false judgment had come where people thought that right judgment should be, the tribunal, the palace and castle, and the whole place, were overthrown and collapsed. And thus it has remained ever since. And on account of this great miracle neither kings nor other inhabitants dare to dwell in that place, which otherwise is the most pleasant of all. And it is also said that if anyone dare to inhabit that place, a new prodigy happens daily.

Not in the *Ir. Mir.* nor in Giraldus. Nor does it tally very well with the traditional Irish account, according to which Tara was deserted in 565 after the death of King Dermot mac Cerbaill, in consequence of the curse of St. Ruadan. See Petrie's *Tara*, p. 125; O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, ii, p. 83.

17. There is also in that land one wonderful thing, which will seem very untruthful to men. Yet the people who inhabit that land say that it is certainly true. And that befell on account of the wrath of a holy man. It is said that when the holy Patricius was preaching Christianity in that land, there was one great race more hostile to him than the other people that were in the land. And those men tried to do him many kinds of injury. And when he preached Christianity to them as to other men,

and came to meet them when they were holding their assembly, then they took this counsel, to howl at him like wolves. But when he saw that his message would succeed little with these people, then he became very wroth, and prayed God that He might avenge it on them by some judgment, that their descendants might for ever remember their disobedience. And great punishment and fit and very wonderful has since befallen their descendants ; for it is said that all men who come from that race are always wolves at a certain time, and run into the woods and have food like wolves ; and they are worse in this that they have human reason, for all their cunning, and such desire and greed for men as for other creatures. And it is said that some become so every seventh year, and are men during the interval. And some have it so long that they have seven years at once, and are never so afterwards.

Giraldus (ii, 19) has a similar story of one man and woman, who had been cursed by St. Naal or Natalis. *Ir. Mir.* p. 205 : 'The descendants of the wolf in Ossory,' etc. ; but neither the curse nor the seven years are mentioned.

18. There is also one thing, which will seem very wonderful, about men who are called *gelt*. It happens when two hosts meet and are arranged in battle-array, and when the battle-cry is raised loudly on both sides, that cowardly men run wild, and lose their wits from the dread and fear which seize them. And then they run into a wood away from other men, and live there like beasts, and shun the meeting of men like wild beasts. And it is said of these men that when they have lived in the woods in that condition for twenty years, then feathers grow on their bodies as on birds, whereby their bodies are protected against frost or cold ; but the feathers are not so large that they may fly like birds. Yet their swiftness is said to be so great that other men cannot approach them, and greyhounds just as little as men. For these people run along the trees almost as swiftly as monkeys or squirrels.

Not in the Ir. *Mir.* nor Giraldus. But this effect of the panic of battle on men is a very common feature in Irish story. See the *Battle of Ventry*, l. 313; *Three Fragments*, p. 40; *Four Masters*, A.D. 718 = *Chron. Scot.* p. 122, where *uolatiles* is glossed by *gealta*, the plural of *geilt*, 'madman, lunatic.' The Norse phrase *verða at gjalti* seems to have nothing to do originally with *göltr*, 'a boar', but to have been fashioned from the Irish word.

19. There is yet another thing that will seem most wonderful, which happened in the city that is called *Clocna* (Clonmacnoise). In that city is a church which is sacred to the memory of the holy man who is called *Kiranus*. And there it thus befell on a Sunday, when people were at church and were hearing Mass, there came dropping from the air above an anchor, as if it were cast from a ship, for there was a rope attached to it. And the fluke of the anchor got hooked in an arch at the church door, and all the people went out of the church and wondered, and looked upwards after the rope. They saw a ship float on the rope, and men in it. And next they saw a man leap overboard from the ship, and dive down towards the anchor, wanting to loosen it. His exertion seemed to them, by the movement of his hands and feet, like that of a man swimming in the sea. And when he came down to the anchor, he endeavoured to loosen it. And then some men ran towards him and wanted to seize him. But in the church, to which the anchor was fastened, there is a bishop's chair. The bishop was by chance on the spot, and he forbade the men to hold that man, for he said that he would die as if he were held in water. And as soon as he was free he hastened his way up again to the ship; and as soon as he came up, they cut the rope, and then sailed on their way out of the sight of men. And the anchor has ever since lain as a witness of the event in that church.

This is the 23rd wonder in the Ir. *Mir.* (p. 211), which, as it is not quite correctly translated by Todd, I will give *in extenso*:—

'Congalach, son of Maelmithig (+ 956), was at the fair of Teltown on a certain day, when he saw a ship (sailing) along in the air. One of the crew cast a dart at a salmon. The dart fell down in the presence of the gathering, and a man came out of the ship after it. When he seized its end from above, a man from below seized it from below. Upon which the man from above said: "I am being drowned," said he. "Let him go," said Congalach; and he is allowed to go up, and then he goes from them swimming.' In the *Book of Leinster*, p. 274a, 37, the appearance of three ships in the air is mentioned as one of the wonders of Teltown, when King Domnall mac Murchada (A.D. 763) was at the fair, which agrees with an entry in the *Annals, LL.* p. 256, 3: 'Naues in aere uisae sunt.' Not in Giraldus.

20. I think we have now mentioned nearly all those things that are most necessary to mention about this land. Yet there is one thing more behind which we may mention, if you like, for the sake of sport and merriment. A certain merry-man there was in that land long ago, and yet he was a Christian. And that man was called *Klefsan* by name. It was said of this man that no one he saw he would not make laugh with his merry words, even though they were dying. And though a man were sad in his thought, yet it is said that he could not refrain from laughing if he heard the talk of that man. And he fell ill and died, and was then buried in the churchyard like other men. He lay in the earth a long time, so that all the flesh was decayed from his bones, and most bones had decayed with it. Then it happened that some bodies were being buried in the same churchyard, and they were digging so near the place where *Klefsan* was buried, that they dug up his skull, which was whole. And they placed it afterwards up on a high stone in the churchyard, and it has stood there ever since. And whoever comes there and sees and looks at the place where his mouth was and his tongue, then laughs he forthwith, even though he was in a sad mood before he saw the head. And his dead bones now make little fewer people laugh than when he was alive.

There is nothing like this either in the Ir. *Mir.* or in Giraldus. But we may compare the story about the grave of the jester Mac Rustaing at Russagh, which no woman can see without laughing or breaking wind (Ir. *Mir.* p. 201 = *Félire*, p. cxlv); and the story of the talking head of Donn bó in *Three Fragments*, p. 45. *Clejsan* I take to be miswritten for *Clessán*, a hypocoristic form of some name the first part of which was *cless*, 'feat, trick,' an appropriate name for a jester.

I do not know any more things in this land that seem suitable to me to speak about any longer."

Having thus said all he has to say about Ireland, our author goes on to speak of Greenland, the natural phenomena to be seen there, its sea-monsters, climatic conditions, the northern light, etc. Then ends the first part of the book. The second part deals entirely with questions of manners and morality, mostly with reference to kings and court life, and with various religious and scholastic problems, and does not concern us here. In this second part the story of Tara's desertion is told once more, but without the addition of any new features.

It will hardly be necessary for me to show at greater length that the idea of our author having used either Giraldus or a version of the Irish *Mirabilia* cannot be entertained. The Norse account hardly ever tallies with either of them; it sometimes agrees with Irish native accounts against Giraldus, and it contains several stories to be found neither in Giraldus nor in the *Mirabilia*, but known to us from other Irish sources. It might be argued, of course, that our author drew from some other source, not now accessible to us, but I do not think that his narrative anywhere contains the slightest indication of dependence on any authority except that of oral and local tradition. However, the most conclusive evidence as to this being our author's source remains yet to be mentioned. It is that offered by the shape in which the Irish names of places and persons appear. These names, though more or

less corrupted by the scribes of the various MSS., are, with a few exceptions, all of them Norse phonetic renderings of *spoken* Irish of the thirteenth century. They are not based upon written forms, either Irish or Latin. The following comparisons will show this :

Bladma (miswritten *Bladina*) is the Irish *Bladma* in *Sliab Bladma*, now Slieve Bloom, where Norse *d* represents Irish infected *d*, as in *Maddaðr* = Ir. *Maddadh* ; see Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, iii, p. 189.

Loghechag is miswritten, I think, for *Loghcchag* or *Lognechag* = Ir. *Loch n-Echach*, now Lough Neagh, *g* standing for the guttural *ch*, as in *Logri* = *Loch Ribh*, now Lough Ree, where the final *bh* is silent.

Loghaerne, perhaps miswritten for *Lognaerne* = *Loch n'Eirne*, now Lough Erne.

Glinnelaga (miswritten *Glumelaga*) is the oblique case of the Ir. *Glenn-dá-locha* or *-lacha*, now Glendalough, showing *g* for the guttural *ch*, and preserving the final *a* of the genitive dual.

Inhisgluer, perhaps for *Innisgluere* = Ir. *Inis Glúaire*.

Inisclo dran = Ir. *Inis Clothramm*.

Cloena, perhaps for *Cluen* = *Clúain* (*maccunoise*).

Temere, corruptly *Tem* in one place, where the ending has been omitted through *er*, 'is', following immediately upon it, = Ir. *Temraig*, the oblique case of *Temair*, 'Tara'. The infected final *g* is silent, but whether in this case *m* is historical spelling, or is to denote the nasal quality of the preceding vowel, I cannot say. The medial *e* looks like an irrational vowel developed between two consonants.

Loghica (miswritten *Loycha* in one MS.) and *Kertinagh* I cannot explain ; *Kewinus* is the Latinised form of Ir. *Caimhghin*, *w* being used to render the sound of *mh*, after which the *gh* is silent. *Clefsan* for *Clessan* I have explained above.

My conclusion, then, shortly is this. The account of Ireland in the *Speculum Regale* is not derived from any written sources, but entirely based upon oral information

obtained in Ireland itself. In this respect it is interesting to observe that all the 'wonders', with the exception of that of Inishglory, are localised in the east of Ireland. Thus this Norse version of Irish stories furnishes interesting examples of the peculiar characteristics attaching to all merely oral tradition, such as confusion of names, substitution of different details, different localisation, different working out of the same motive, etc. But on the whole the stories have in their Norse dress well preserved some peculiarly Irish features, such as the wild grotesqueness in the story of Clessan's skull, or the natural magic in that of the ships in the air.

LEGENDS FROM THE WOODLARKS, BRITISH NEW GUINEA.

BY A. C. HADDON.

Having recently had occasion to consult a number of references to British New Guinea, I have come across the following legends, which may interest some of our readers as they come from a part of the world about which little is known.

The Woodlarks, the largest of which is called Murua, are a group of islands lying about 150 miles north-east of the south-eastern extremity of New Guinea. They have recently been visited and described by Sir William Macgregor, the Administrator of British New Guinea; a clue to the literature on the group will be found in my forthcoming paper, "The Decorative Art of British New Guinea: a Study in Papuan Ethnography." Cunningham, Memoir X., Royal Irish Academy. The first three legends are recorded by R. P. Montrouzier, Provicaire Apostolique de la Société de Marie, from "Ile Woodlark", 18 Janvier, 1849, *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, xxiii, 1851. On p. 369 he writes, "You can judge by this mythological sketch if you wish to know what superstitious prejudices we have

to combat. It is a history which I ought to have listened to without laughing ; for the savage who recounted it to me believed that I was ridiculing him, and thenceforth it was impossible to drag another word out of him." Very little success attended this mission. Later on we read, "We have already baptised a number of infants, who, with several adults, regenerated at the point of death, give us a total of sixty-five Christians. In 1852 the Marists abandoned Murua, or Moiou, as they termed it.

"Once upon a time a mighty man came from the direction of Guagnag (to the west of Woodlark), who had the power of enlarging or diminishing himself at will. He called himself Geren ; but there were with him two others named Marita and Tudar. He wore below the elbow a *siasir*, or large bracelet. Arriving at Moiou he saw only a miserable country, entirely composed of coral. He immediately drew from his *siasir* a small packet which he threw into the air, and instantly the corals were covered with vegetation, and yams, taro, coconut palms, and other food-plants, sprouted forth in haste. Geren wished to yet further extend his generosity, and to make these fruits bear without culture ; but Marita opposed his intention by portraying in lively colours the dangers of idleness. This is not all. The illustrious traveller gave laws to the natives, prescribed several forms of prayer, enjoined them to clothe themselves decently, and prohibited the eating of certain foods. Thence he passed to the Naal Islands or Lauglan. This was a great land, also composed of coral. Provided with another packet he performed the same wonder here ; but he did not find either the same docility or gratitude. The Naal islanders refused to cultivate yams and taro. Irritated by their obstinacy, Geren struck this cursed land with his fist, and immediately the island was fractured into eight or nine islets, where, as a sole resource, grows the coconut palm, which requires no culture."

"After death they go to Tum, a little, very fertile, island, where the spirits of the good find bananas in abundance ;

but all who wish to cannot enter. Dikinikan, the terrible goddess, watches over the beach; by her side is a serpent, who serves as a bridge between Moiou and Tum. If one is favoured the serpent lets him pass; if disapproved of the monster dives, and the deceased falls into the jaws of a shark. In order to be admitted to the abode of bliss it is only necessary to have upon the arms two small tattooed lines."

There are some differences in the details of the manner in which the sun and moon were created, the main points are the same. "An old woman had the monopoly of fire; excepting herself, everyone ate raw food. Her son said to her, 'You are cruel; you see that taro takes the skin off our palates, yet you do not give us any fire to cook it.' The stingy old woman turned a deaf ear to him. Her son stole the fire. Then in fury she took the remainder of the fire which he had left, cut it in two, and threw it into the air. The larger piece became the sun, and the other the moon."

Salerio ("Ueber die Inseln in Osten von Neu Guinea," *Petermann's Mittheil.*, 1862, p. 341) says that Anmuth is their island paradise.

Sir Wm. MacGregor (*Ann. Rep. Br. New Guinea*, C. A., I, 1892, p. 7) writes:—"Their religious belief seems to be a very simple one. When people die they go 'like the wind' to a small island called Watum, near Ugawaga, and there they always remain, never leaving it. There is a chief there called Paidogo, who came originally out of the ground. All people go to Watum, whether they are good or bad, and all live together; the women plant the gardens and cook food for their husbands."

Mr. Wm. Tetzlaff contributes a very valuable appendix, "Notes on the Laughlan Islands," to the above Report (p. 104), which is reprinted in the *Journ. Anth. Inst.*, xxi, 1892, p. 483. Nada, or the Laughlan Islands, lie about thirty miles to the west of the Woodlarks. Tetzlaff narrates customs about child-birth, relationship, trade, sports, sickness, dreams, and legends about a future state,

the moon, and fire. The natives are closely allied to the Woodlark islanders.

Father Thomassin (p. 389) gives a description of Murua, or Mouiou, as he calls it. The larger central part of the island is hilly and fertile, the low coral extremities grow only a little taro and some yams and sweet potatoes. Necessity makes the natives of the ends of the island industrious; a great part of their time is occupied by cultivation, the rest by fishing, and the superfluous fish which they catch are bartered with the central natives for taro. "These relations between the different tribes have the advantage of maintaining unity among our savages." He also mentions the annual trading voyages in March and November, from the Laughlen Islands ("Nadles") to Murua, to exchange coconuts for taro. "In this exchange the advantage is clearly on the side of the strangers; but they make thereby an act of submission, and the people of our tribe are accounted their protectors." A pleasing picture is drawn of the sociability and politeness of the people; but self-interest, vanity, and fear, especially of sorcerers, are at the bottom of all their affability. "A man sold us a turtle in order to be revenged, his enemy inoculated a turtle in the breast, and this did not fail to choke our poor bewitched friend." The funeral customs are thus described (p. 394): "Sobs, cries, or, more generally, howls, which gradually abate, and end by a lugubrious song, occasionally reach us; it is the announcement of a death. If the defunct is of low estate they content themselves with exposing him for a couple of days in his hut, during all which time his friends come there to weep, men and women follow one another in turn. The mourners retire, receive a present, and immediately return home as gaily as they came. Burial is the duty of the women; they hollow a trench in the neighbourhood of the village, there they deposit the dead, and promptly cover it with earth, in order to hasten to eat the funeral feast. If the defunct is a person of quality—a chief—there are several more ceremonies; no

one, in this case, dare omit to go and weep over the corpse, otherwise he would be held to be a sorcerer. All the tribe, also, goes into mourning for some months; the mourning consists of blackening the whole body with charcoal. In some villages they light a fire on the grave, which the parents of the deceased should tend during a fortnight. The whole of this interval is for them a period of complete seclusion. Their food is brought to them, they take it without saying a word, and their silence is only interrupted by funeral songs in honour of the dead. On a fixed day the fire is quenched; women respectfully exhume the bones of the defunct, and they hand them over to the nearest relation. These bones are to him a sacred trust; and when it is a woman who thus receives the relics of her husband, she places them in a basket which she decorates as well as she is able, and always carries it with her, especially on feast-days, visits, and receptions. I can tell you nothing about the religion of our savages, it is a confused collection of gross superstitions in which one cannot find any precise dogma." ("Woodlark," Oct. 12, 1851).—*Annales de la Probagation de la Foi*, xxv, 1854.

REVIEWS.

SUOMALAISIA KANSANSATUJA. Finnish Folk-tales, pt. 2.
Kingly Tales, vol. i. Helsingfors: 1893, pp. 272.

I OWE an apology to Mr. Karl Krohn for not noticing this volume long ago. It arrived when I had a great press of work, and then through inadvertence I neglected to read it. The first part of this series contained the "Animal Stories", which were duly noticed in FOLK-LORE.

This second part contains thirteen tales, with from two to four sub-types for some of them. These are given in full. Then follow 302 variants, either in a curtailed form, or the fact is merely recorded, together with the place where it was collected. The group is termed "kingly", because one of the personages is always of a higher social rank than the narrator; and in vol. i the motive is *the relation between husband and wife*. The titles of the stories in full do not correspond with the headings under which the variants of each are collected. I therefore omit the former and only give the latter, together with Mr. Krohn's abstract of each story-type.

No. 1. *Nine golden boys.*

Three sisters—youngest promises king's son nine golden sons—Ogress exchanges them for animals—wife hides one boy—they are sent to sea in cask—reach an island—boy makes dwelling for his mother and bridge to father's castle—fetches his brothers—Ogress is punished. (One story in full, 44 in abstract or on record.)

No. 2. *The handless maiden.*

Brother marries—wife slanders sister—brother amputates her hands—sister marries king's son—gets golden son—brother's wife falsifies letters—queen with her children sent

away—gets her hands again—all assemble at brother's house—brother's wife punished. (17 var.)

No. 3. *The maiden accused without cause.*

Two brothers—the bachelor brother annoys the other's daughter—slanders her—father sends his son to kill her—son pities sister, kills dog—daughter marries king's son—trusted servant annoys her—wife gets home in men's clothes—all assemble—uncle and servant punished. (12 var.)

No. 4. *The bet on a wife's faithfulness.*

Sea captain marries a poor girl—lays bet on wife's faithfulness—a citizen by deceit procures proof, goes to shore to meet ship—captain departs without going home—wife follows in men's clothes—they meet—they reach home—citizen's incautious language explains everything. (15 var.).

No. 5. *Often tried faithfulness.*

Merchant's son enraptured by portrait of king's daughter—in girl's clothes manages to talk with her—brings her home in a ship—a soldier wishes to seduce her—slanders her—son strikes his wife with sword, believes he has killed her—doctor finds, cures, and wishes her for himself—wife flies, reaches fisherman's house—flies from there—dresses in men's clothes—becomes empress—places her portrait in visible place, sentinels beside it—all former admirers pass by, they are taken prisoners—they are condemned. (8 var.)

No. 6. *The clever wife.*

A merchant boasts of his wife in emperor's castle—they put him in prison—wife dresses in men's clothes—goes to woo emperor's daughter—doubts about her sex get abroad—at time of wedding manages to release all prisoners—escapes with her husband. (1 var.)

No. 7. *The magic ring.*

Mother sends her son to buy food—with the money son saves dog, cat, snake about to be killed—gets magic ring—

gets made a fine house and bridge to neighbouring king's castle—gets king's daughter as his wife—treacherous wife steals ring by night—she destroys house and goes to another kingdom to her former lover—king puts son in prison—cat and dog fetch ring—son has everything restored to him as before. (Three types of the tale in full, 67 variants.)

No. 8. *The three magic objects.*

Three brothers—desert from service in army—in forest they get from the *haltia*; an inexhaustible purse; a tablecloth on which is got food and drink; a hat that makes wearer invisible—king's daughter inveigles objects one after the other out of youngest brother—lad finds in forest two sorts of apples—causes that king's daughter to eat bad apples, horns grow on her head—appears himself as healer—having punished her he gives good apples, horns drop off—gets king's daughter for a wife. (Two types of tale in full, 37 variants.)

No. 9. *Magic writing under a bird's wing.*

Merchant buys bird, under its wing is an inscription—while he is away his wife's confidant orders bird for his own eating—merchant's two sons by chance eat the roast—they take to flight—one at once becomes a king—the other who spits gold wooes king's daughter—regulates expenses of kingdom—before full time is up king's daughter, with an emetic, takes from him all his power—lad escapes—gets possession of three magic objects—returns and changes king's daughter into a horse—rides wildly to his brother—brother is nearly having him hanged—recognise one another and drives home—everything is explained. (Two types in full, 36 variants.)

No. 10. *Broken pride.*

King's daughter treats suitors with disdain—a king's son determines to be avenged—dresses as beggar—with his wonderful objects manages to enter chamber of king's daughter—both are driven away—they reach kingdom of

king's son—live in poor hut—wife goes to work in king's palace—has to submit to indignities from king's son, whom she does not recognise as her husband, till this is explained. (5 variants.)

No. 11. *The wife who sought for her husband.*

A girl becomes wife of a very singular individual—against husband's command she makes known to her people the true state of the case—does not find husband any more at home—after troublesome wanderings finds where he lives—by bribing new wife finds occasion to talk with husband—everything put straight as before. (Two in full, 6 variants.)

No. 12. *The husband who sought for his wife.*

Man marries handsome wife—through intrigues of others she disappears—goes to seek her beyond countries and seas—on journey gets magic objects or living creatures to help him—in middle of third sea finds her in enchanted castle—they unite. (Three in full, 44 variants.)

No. 13. *The husband envied on account of his beautiful wife.*

Man marries beautiful wife—unmarried king is envious—imposes impossible tasks—with wife's help husband performs them—manages to keep what belongs to him—king is punished. (Three types in full, 14 variants.)

JOHN ABERCROMBY.

THE HERO OF ESTHONIA, AND OTHER STUDIES IN THE ROMANTIC LITERATURE OF THAT COUNTRY, compiled from Esthonian and German sources. By W. F. KIRBY, F.L.S., F.E.S., etc. 2 Vols. London: John C. Nimmo, 1895.

MR. KIRBY has here given an abstract of the Kalevipoeg, the national epic of Esthonia, for which all students who are destitute (and how few of us in this country are not destitute) of the accomplishment of Esthonian will be

grateful ; and he has added to it a translation, chiefly from the German of Löwe and Janssen, of something like a hundred folk-tales, besides translations in verse from the Esthonian of two ballads incorporated in the Kalevipoeg, and, apparently from the German, of another folk-song and a charm.

Prefixed to these is an introduction, which might well have been lengthened, containing a brief account of the geography (illustrated by a map) and population of Esthonia, of the Kalevipoeg, of Esthonian folk-lore in general, and of the heathen mythology of the Finns and Esthonians. The Kalevipoeg, like the Kalevala of the neighbouring Finns, is a patchwork of traditional songs. It was begun by Dr. Fählmann and completed by Dr. Kreutzwald. It relates the adventures of the son of Kalev. The events of the poem are highly mythological. The scene is chiefly laid in Esthonia ; but the hero undertakes a journey to the Far North, wherein there appear fragments of geographical reminiscences, though it seems vain to expect any more exact information than is to be found in the voyage of Jason or of Odysseus. He also goes down into Pörgu, the nether world, and there finds the shade of his mother, and wrestles with Sarvik, the lord of Hades. A complete examination of the epic in the light of other Esthonian traditions, and of those of Finland, is much to be desired. This, however, was not within Mr. Kirby's purview.

Many of the folk-tales lie outside the European circle : these are, of course, chiefly mythological. Others are what Mr. Kirby calls cosmopolitan. Cinderella is hardly so genteel as Perrault's Cendrillon. The magical tree planted on her mother's grave seems a case of transformation. It, or rather a woman an ell high who appears on its top, takes the part of the fairy-godmother, and dresses her "as magnificently as a Saxon lady". This is a reference to the German conquerors of Esthonia, who provided their subjects with comparisons for oppression, magnificence and other

amiable attributes. Cinderella is shod with gold, and warned to quit the ball before the cock crows for the third time. Löwe omitted the tale from his translations from Kreutzwald's collection. M. Dido published a summary of it last year in the *Revue des Traditions Populaires*; but Mr. Kirby's is much fuller. Mr. Kirby professes on his title-page to be only a compiler. From this example it will be seen that he is a compiler who has rendered a real service to students by providing them not merely with an account of the Esthonian epic, but also with other material hitherto only found in its original language.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

GEORGIAN FOLK-TALES, translated by MARGERY
WARDROP. London: D. Nutt, 1894. Grimm Library,
Vol. I.

THIS is the first collection of Georgian folk-tales published in the English language. In the year 1888 M. Mourier issued in French, under the title of *Contes et Légendes du Caucase*, nine Georgian, six Mingrelian, and six (or rather five, for the last is not a tale) Armenian tales, hardly more than half the number of the stories in Miss Wardrop's volume, which contains sixteen Georgian, eight Mingrelian, and fourteen Gurian tales, besides a couple of pages of Mingrelian proverbs. The mountaineers of the Caucasus present many points of special interest to students of folklore, and it is greatly to be deplored that almost all that is known about their customs and superstitions is locked up in the mysterious recesses of their own or the Russian language. Hence this volume is doubly welcome. The stories are naively told, and bear the stamp of genuineness. Moreover, they are translated into excellent, idiomatic English. Like M. Mourier, Miss Wardrop has gone to Professor Tsagareli's *Mingrelian Studies* for the originals of the stories in Part II, and we are able, there-

fore, to compare the two versions—always an advantage to students who have no access to the original.

It may be said generally of the stories that they are variants of the common stock of Europe. But, though we recognise old friends, they are old friends in strange garb. Take, for instance, Conkiajgharuna, which is the charming name of the Georgian Cinderella. Here we get the familiar step-mother and step-sister, and the magical cow. We do not expect, however, to find the cow running away on to a roof, in order to introduce the heroine to the notice of the beneficent, if unattractive-looking *devi* who lives below. This is not so extraordinary to a Georgian peasant as to us, because the houses in some parts of the Caucasus are built in the ground, so that we may walk on the roof without knowing it. Nor is it usual that Cinderella should, in returning from church, lose her golden slipper in a stream, and that it should be found by the king's horses, not by the king's men. And when the king comes in to try the slipper on the ugly step-sister, and sits down on the basket under which Cinderella has been hidden by her step-mother, it is hardly in accordance with western notions of propriety, whether within or without a fairy tale, that she should repeatedly stick a needle into his majesty from beneath, until he jumps up and finds her; or that then she should come forth and unblushingly observe, without any diffidence or apology: "This slipper is mine, and fits me well."

So in the story of The Two Thieves (a variant of King Rhampsinitus' Treasury) the king has a hind, whose property it is to "fall on its knees before the house of him who is guilty against the king." I am not acquainted with this machinery for discovering the clever thief in any other version of the story. In the same way most of the tales have some peculiarity, pointing either to the special customs or scenery of Georgia, or at least to a state of culture more rudimentary than we are accustomed to in European tales. They ought thus to prove useful in the great Transmission Controversy.

I need only add, that the form wherein these stories are presented is as attractive as their substance ; they will not only help to fill, but they will also adorn the student's shelves.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

CONTES DE LA HAUTE BRETAGNE. Par PAUL SÉBILLOT.
Extrait de la *Revue de Bretagne de Vendée et d'Anjou*.

CONTRIBUTIONS A L'ÉTUDE DES CONTES POPULAIRES.
Par PAUL SÉBILLOT. Extrait de la *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, T. ix, Nos. 1 à 6. 1894.

LÉGENDES DU PAYS DE PAIMPOL. Par PAUL SÉBILLOT.
Extrait de la *Revue de Bretagne de Vendée et d'Anjou*.
1894. All issued by Le Chevallier, Paris.

M. SÉBILLOT, the secretary of the Société des Traditions Populaires, has by no means exhausted the stores of folk-tales he has got together from Upper Brittany, and in these *tirages à part* he has given us fresh instalments from his immense collections. The first consists of twelve stories of *Chercheurs d'Aventures*, and seven concerning the Devil and his transactions with mankind. The Legends from Paimpol are five in number—ghost stories, some of them ghastly enough, from a voluminous manuscript sent to M. Sébillot by M. Galabert, formerly *Commissaire de la Marine* at Paimpol, and are part of the results of his enquiries made at M. Sébillot's instance among the sailors of the bay of Paimpol.

The most important pamphlet of the three, however, is the *Contributions*. Readers of the *Revue des Traditions Populaires* have already taken stock of its contents, and know how valuable they are. Here M. Sébillot has deciphered from his notes traditional stories told to him, and resembling more or less a number of the tales of Perrault, Madame D'Aulnoy, Madame Leprince de Beaumont, and Ducray-Duminil, accompanying them with observations

and references to his own and other French works. To these he has added abstracts of variants of stories he has already published, arranged under their types, so as readily to be referred to. In every case he has, in accordance with his admirable custom, recorded when and by whom the stories were told him. Among the tellers we meet with the famous Rose Renaud, and others of our old friends.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

LE FOLK-LORE DE LESBOS. Par G. GEORGEAKIS et
LÉON PINEAU. Paris : J. Maisonneuve, 1894.

M. PINEAU must be heartily congratulated on this product of his enthusiasm for the science of folk-lore. He tells us, in the preface, that M. Georgeakis, a native of Lesbos, having come to France to learn French, was surprised, brought up as he had been on Homer and Demosthenes, to find M. Pineau (who is a distinguished professor) so much attached to the rustic traditions of Poitou. The pleasure to be found in them seemed to him not less strange than the profit to be derived from them was dubious. However, after many a talk with M. Pineau, the Greek islander became thoroughly interested ; and at last he confessed, almost blushing, that in his own Lesbos the same things were found as in Poitou. We can see, though, of course, we are not told, that the eloquence and enthusiasm of our French *confrère* had won a new and valuable convert to folk-lore. Very soon, on M. Pineau's suggestion, he had written home to friends who, he knew, could furnish materials, and, after awhile, from remote villages, tale and song, riddle and custom and superstition, poured in welcome numbers fresh and unadulterated from their source. These have been translated for western students from the Lesbian dialect, together with others which M. Georgeakis has sent since his return to Mytilene ; and we are bidden to expect an even fuller and more abundant harvest from his further researches on the spot.

And what of the first-fruits in the collection before us? Its importance consists not only in the fact that Lesbos is new ground to the folk-lore student ; but also in the form of the variants of the traditions we already know elsewhere. Among many examples I have noted, let me mention the apologue of The Fox and the Crab. These animals agreed to race in order to decide the ownership of some corn they had gathered. In an instant the fox approached the stone they had fixed on for the winning-post, and turned round, as he reached it, to look for his friend. But the crab had been too cunning for him. As they started he had secretly caught the fox's tail ; and when the fox turned round, his tail touched the goal, and he heard a voice behind him saying, " Here I am ! " The crab had let go his hold, and, to the fox's astonishment, he was quietly sitting on the stone. This is the fable of the hare and the tortoise told with the incidents of that of the eagle and the wren. It is, in fact, an intermediate form.

Among curious customs mentioned is that of lighting fires by threes on Saint John's Eve, and then jumping thrice over them with a stone on one's head, saying, " I jump the hare's fire, my head a stone ! " (*Πηδῶ τοῦ λαγοῦ τὰ κάφαλα, πέτρα τὸ κεφάλι μου*). Can Mr. Paton, or anyone, explain this? Something appears to turn on the pun.

M. Pineau has added a few notes of analogues throughout the volume. The whole collection is well worth studying ; and we may hope that this happy collaboration may soon result in further volumes, for there must be stuff for many in Lesbos and other islands of the Archipelago.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

MORE CELTIC FAIRY TALES, selected and edited by
JOSEPH JACOBS. London : David Nutt, 1894.

GRACEFULLY dedicated "To the many unknown little friends I have made by the former books of this series",

Mr. Jacobs' new book of fairy tales is as beautiful, and will prove as acceptable to his little friends, as those that have preceded it. They will have grown accustomed to the annual gift of Mr. Jacobs and Mr. Batten, and will be sorry to read, that for the present, this is the last "selection of Fairy Tales once and still existing among them" which they must expect from the same skilful hands; especially as neither the pen of the one nor the pencil of the other has lost anything of its cunning.

With regard to the alterations he has made in the text of the tales, the Editor, while stating that he has continued the practice adopted in the previous volumes of altering where it seemed necessary, goes on to say: "As former statements of mine on this point have somewhat misled my folk-lore friends, I should perhaps add, that the alterations on this score have been much slighter than they have seemed, and have not affected anything of value to the science of folk-lore." It is right to quote this explanation in justice to Mr. Jacobs, since the reference is (possibly among others) to my remarks on the preface to his last volume.

The notes appended, though valuable, are hardly so full as on some previous occasions; and, whether for this reason, or because Mr. Jacobs has been favoured with glimpses of a different—I will not venture to say a better—faith, the theory of the Indian origin of the stories has almost vanished. When it appears, it is sheltered under the name and enunciated in the words of J. F. Campbell. This is the case with the fine story of "The Black Horse", given from Mr. Campbell's manuscript. Shortly, the story is of a bride won by the hero for a king, with the help of a certain black horse. The lady declines to be married until she has certain magical gifts, which one after the other are fetched by the hero. When at length she has them, she puts an end to the king and marries the lad who has dared so much for her. The horse's head is cut off at his own request, and he resumes his proper form as the bride's

brother ; for he had been under spells until this was done. Mr. Campbell has noted a number of coincidences with different points of the tale. These Mr. Jacobs quotes, including the opinion that "nothing short of an Asian [by which he seems to mean an Indian] origin will account for it". The reasons adduced for the opinion in question are founded chiefly on the part played by the steed ; and special reference is made to its colour and its beheadal, so as to connect it with Vedic sacrifices. Campbell's observations, however, are all beside the mark, and were probably only a few rough notes scribbled down before he had had leisure to look up the analogues. In fact, the story is found in every country of Europe, and among the Tartars of Southern Siberia and the Caucasus ; while, on the other hand, it is not found (so far as I am aware, and, what is more, so far as M. Cosquin is aware) in India, at least in its developed form, or with the machinery of the horse, which is all-important for his argument. We must always remember, too, in considering Campbell's opinions on the provenience of tales, that the collection of folk-tales has enormously increased since his day, and that he wrote when the sun-myth was in its prime. Prof. Max Müller's theories dominated much of his thought : *Primitive Culture* and *Myth Ritual and Religion* had not yet been written.

Mr. Alfred Nutt contributes a very important note on "The Fate of the Children of the Lir", discussing its earliest form and the history of its evolution. It is quite clear that M. Gaston Paris is wrong in making the story of "The Seven Swans" dependent upon that of "The Swan Knight", whatever the meaning of the chains in the former may be.

Several of the stories now appear in print or in English for the first time ; and if the Editor be serious in threatening us with no more volumes, there are others, beside "his little friends", who will regret it.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE REV. DR. GASTER writes as follows respecting Mr. Paton's communication in FOLK-LORE, iv, No. 3, p. 275:

"The question of superstitions in the Canons has been very ably and almost exhaustively treated by C. P. Caspari, in his edition of Pseudo-Augustin's *Homilia de Sacrilegiis* (Christiania, 1886), and more especially in the notes accompanying the text. Caspari refers to the various Acts of Councils and to ancient Indices of Superstitions, drawn up by various bishops, and to sermons against idolatrous customs. The Nomocanones are comparatively modern digests of these ancient Acts of Councils and decisions of Basil the Great, etc.

"I have reproduced *two* chapters on 'Charms and Vampires' from the *Roumanian (Slavo-Greek) Nomocanon*, published 1645, in my *Chrestomathie Roumaine*, i, pp. 116-117.

"A large collection of such beliefs and customs is to be found in Del Rio's well-known *Disquisitionum Magicarum libri vi*, lib. III. referring constantly to the Acts of Councils as the ultimate source for their condemnation."

CLOTHED IMAGES.

To the Editor of FOLK-LORE.

SIR,—May I ask your reader's attention to an interesting branch of primitivé ritual on which I am anxious to elicit facts.

The custom of *the offering of a garment to an image* may be taken as typified in the presentation of the peplos to

Athene in the Panathenaic festival; but it appears probable that similar rites extend through all stages of culture.

I should be glad of instances of garments or coverings, provided for images, or for any sacred object, and especially of the use of such garments at festivals or on special occasions.

As interesting examples of this clothing of images, or sacred objects, in most widely separated conditions of culture, I may mention the very primitive clothing of a sacred stone by branches, "to keep the god warm", in Samoa—"when praying on account of war, drought, famine, or epidemic, the branch *clothes* were carefully removed";¹ the clothing, like a woman, of a plantain tree in the ceremonies that take place at the consecration of an image of the great Hindoo goddess Durga (Parvati);² the draping of images in the skin of sacrificial victims in ancient rites;³ the Mexican feast of Huitzilopochli, where an image, made of dough, was dressed in the raiment of the idol;⁴ and the great Mexican festival of Tezcatlipoca, on the eve of which the image was dressed in new clothes.⁵

When the divinity is specifically represented by a living person (as in the Hindoo rite of worshipping daughters of a Brahman as forms of a goddess, and offering to them cloth, paint, and ornaments during the ceremony;⁶ and the Mexican rite in which human sacrifices were "adorned with the trappings of the Tlaloc gods, for it was said they were the images of these gods),⁷ garments provided for such persons would, of course, have an interest equal to clothing destined for an image.

¹ *Samoa*, Turner, p. 62.

² Ward's *Hindoos*, 1817, vol. ii, p. 13.

³ See Prof. Robertson Smith, *Semites*, p. 415.

⁴ *Native Races of the South Pacific*, Bancroft, vol. ii, p. 321.

⁵ Bancroft, *ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 318.

⁶ Ward's *Hindoos*, 1817, vol. i, p. 245-6.

⁷ Bancroft's *Native Races of the South Pacific*, vol. iii, p. 342.

Instances of such ritual clothing would be most valuable, if in connection with festivals of the birth (or return), marriage, or death of the god. And I should be glad of instances of any kind of covering, from savage paint to temple vestments.

GERTRUDE M. GODDEN.

MR. W. R. PATON writes from Kalymnos, Asiatic Turkey :—

“I have some notions about the death of Hector. It would suit my theory if his running three times round the walls of Troy was a thing which would bring him luck. I fancy there are parallels from folk-lore. Any information would be welcome.”

WOULD any reader of FOLK-LORE be kind enough to send to me at the address given below any information concerning single ballads or collections of ballads from the following counties :—Buckinghamshire, Berkshire (beyond those in the “Scouring of the White Horse”), Cambridge, Dorset, Durham, Essex, Hampshire, Hereford, Hertford, Huntingdon, Monmouth, Northampton, Oxford, Warwickshire, Westmoreland.

R. BRIMLEY JOHNSON.

Llandaff House, Cambridge.

MISCELLANEA.

An Unpublished Scottish Lullaby.—Not long ago the following lullaby was found by a friend written on the fly-leaf of a book, bearing the date 1801. It was in the thin, sharp-pointed handwriting used by ladies at the beginning of the century, and probably belongs to the end of the last century. Mr. Thomas Davidson, who is so well versed in Scottish folk-lore, to whom I have shewn it, has never seen anything like it in print, but fancies that it is literary rather than traditional in the strict sense. However that may be, it well deserves to be recorded in FOLK-LORE, for the name of “Wullie Moolie”, as the appellation of a bogle, booman, or bugbear, must surely be traditional, though I am unable to throw any light upon it.

“The Boomen¹ and Maukins are scourin the steep,
The puir wee bit mousie’s nae mair at her ease,
For the howlet is scrieghin amang the lane trees,
But ye’ll sleep my luvellie, Hushe, Hushe and baloo,
And I’ll keep the Boomen frae medlin wi’ you.
Wheesh there, Wullie Moolie, Hushe, Hushe noo my pet,
Hear, Hear how he’s jinglin the hesp o’ the yett,
He’ll be here in a jiffie, Hushe, Hushe now my dear,
For queyt sleepin babies he winnae come near,
Gae ’wa ugly Wullie, my bairnie I’ll keep,
Ye dinna tak wee yins wha’ll cuddle and sleep,
Na ! Hushe and baloo babie, Hushe and baloo,
There’s nae Wullie Moolie sall ever get you.”

JOHN ABERCROMBY.

Scraps of Folklore, collected chiefly in Berkshire.

DEATH OMENS.

A bat coming into the house is a sign of death.

“If the bat pitch on you, you are the one to die.”

When the bees swarm, if they settle on a piece of dead wood, it means a death in the family.

¹ A common name for a bogle or scarecrow in the Lothians. Maukins are witches in the form of hares.

If a corpse does not stiffen there will be another death in the family within three months.

If the eyes will not close, it is looking for another.

A screech owl hooting near the house is a sign of death.

If there is blossom on the apple tree at the same time as fruit, there will be death in the house within the year.

If a body lies over Sunday, there is sure to be another death in the village (before long is implied). (My informant "knew of many such cases".)

Bladders in coal are a sign of death ; they are called "coffins".

"Winding sheet" in the candle is sign of death. (Said to be general by people from other places.)

A robin coming into the house is a sign of death. (Bath.)

MISCELLANEOUS SUPERSTITIONS.

A cat sitting with its back to the fire is a sign of frost.

A cat washing behind its ear is a sign of wet weather.

"Cock crowing, going to bed,
Get up with a wet head." (Sign of rain.)

If you wash on a Good Friday, the suds will turn to blood. (Believed firmly, in youth of my informant—a farmer's wife, about sixty years old—by ignorant labouring people, who took no other notice of Good Friday.)

When the clock strikes twelve on Christmas Eve, the rosemary blooms, and all the oxen stand up and low.

If you put on a garment inside out, never take it off to turn it, or you will lose your way before the day is over.

Never wear new shoes to get married in.

If a farmer cuts a candle in two, something will go wrong with the cattle.

If the cock crows at the door, it is a sign of a stranger.

Three candles burning at once, sign of a wedding.

A new-born babe must be carried upstairs for it to rise in the world ; if born at the top of the house, it will do if the nurse stands on a chair with it.

It is unlucky to sit under a walnut tree.

If you kill a robin (if it dies in your hand), your hand will shake all your life after.

At Longcot (Berks) a friend of mine has to put the savings of some of the men into the P.O. savings bank for them in her own name, because, though able to write, they cannot be induced to sign their names.

Never poke a person's fire till you have known them seven years.
(Claimed to be general by people present.)

Meeting anyone on stairs sign of quarrel before night. (Ditto.)

Two spoons in sugar, or in one cup, sign of a wedding. (Ditto.)

A loaf coming apart in your hand sign of a parting. (Ditto.)

Very unlucky for the bride or bridegroom to come back when started on the honeymoon. (Ditto.)

Crossed knives mean quarrel in family. (Ditto.)

Unlucky to have hair cut when moon wanes. (Ditto.)

If you turn your bed on Friday or Sunday, you turn away your lover. (Ditto.)

Fall upstairs, sign of wedding. (Ditto.)

Stir the fire with the tongs stirs up anger. (Somerset.)

To cut the nails on Friday brings very bad luck. (Somerset.)

If you dry a letter by the fire, the answer will bring you bad news.
(Told to my informant by one who had lived long in Yorkshire, and said by another person to be well known to be "unlucky" in Lancashire.)

In Cornwall, a friend tells me, they say "if a baby does not scream when baptised, the devil has not gone out of it", so they pinch it to make it scream.

A clergyman told me the following: "An old woman" (in Bristol, I believe) "told me there was a charm against toothache in the Bible. I expressed my surprise, but she assured me it was so, so I told her I should look. Next week I told her I could not find it anywhere, so she said, 'Yes, that's just it; it's there certainly, but the more you look the more you can't find it, that's how it always is.'"

The same clergyman told me the following: "Within the last thirty years there was a White Witch at Teignmouth (S. Devon). This White Witch was a man. When people went to him for advice, they took a live white duck as an offering. One old woman at Torcross, whom I knew well, whose husband was ill, said, 'I know what's the matter with him; he's "oversee'd", that's what he is', and she walked to the White Witch at Teignmouth with a duck, to have her husband unbewitched. I knew of this being done by different people (one man who is alive now was one). The office of White Witch was hereditary. This man's father was White Witch before him."

ISABELLA BARCLAY.

Modern Greek Birth-Customs.—A Greek lady of Salonica supplements the information in Miss Garnett's *Women of Turkey and their Folk-lore* (Christian Women, pp. 69 *et seq.*) respecting the birth-customs she observed in the Greek community, as follows:—

When the baby is born, the third day the bed is arranged, the lady

and baby dressed to receive visitors, and the lady should put on all her jewels, in order that the visitor may be first attracted by the jewels, and so her first remark may not be a personal one, as "How well you are looking", etc., as such a remark brings the evil eye. For the same reason a brush is hung over the bed, and small coins, sequins, or a piece of garlic, are attached to the baby's cap, and a visitor's first greeting to the baby is to spit upon it. During the first forty days, the lady is not allowed to talk aloud after sunset until the following morning, and no one is allowed to enter the room of the mother, if the person or persons in attendance upon her leaves the room for any purpose she may not re-enter it. When anyone has small-pox, the patient is not isolated, but every visitor brings small pieces of pink sugar stuff, which they place under the pillow of the sick person, saying, 'γάλλ βίας!'

(Communicated by Miss Nutt.)

Folk-lore Jottings from the Western Counties.—(1) While living as a child at Dinder, in Somersetshire, between the years 1866 and 1867, I remember hearing it said by a woman-servant, who came, I think, from no great distance, that (perhaps with the preface, "they say") if you go up Masboro' Castle (the highest point of the Mendips) on Easter morning, *you will see a lamb in the sun.*

(2) At East Knoyle, in Wiltshire, where I lived from 1869 to 1872, there is, or was, in a field at the foot of the chalk downs, a large irregular stone or rock, of which it was said that there was as much below ground as above, and that many horses had been employed in a vain attempt to remove it. A labourer working in the garden of Knoyle House, once told me, "they do say as Old Nick dropped it there, when he was carrying it to build Stonehenge."

(3) I recollect, when a child, hearing two maid-servants speaking of Gloucester Cathedral, and one of them telling the other that it had never been finished, and never would be, or it would go to the Roman Catholics. A servant in the house where I am now living, an intelligent and trustworthy Yorkshirewoman, tells me that the same thing is said of York Minster. "It was once in the hands of the Roman Catholics, and when it was finished, if all the scaffolding was ever taken out of it, they would get hold of it. That was the understanding."

(4) In the interests of science, as of justice, it is sometimes necessary to repeat impolite remarks. In August 1888, I was lodging at Church Stretton, in Shropshire, accompanied by an intimate friend who was in the habit of resorting for a morning bathe to a small sheet of water beside an unfrequented foot-path leading to the hills of the Longmynd. One morning, as my friend was standing in naked

majesty at the water side, with his back to the path, a country fellow came by. "'Morning", says the latter, "'Morning", replies my friend. "I shall have luck this morning", continued the countryman. "Why so?" the other inquires. "Because I've seen your backside, leastways that's what they say about here."

GREY HUBERT SKIPWITH.

Hop-Scotch at Simla. (Extract from a letter to Mr. J. G. Frazer):—"You are interested in the world-wide prevalence of Hop-Scotch. I was interested to-day to see in the street of Sanjaoli, a minute village near here, two boys playing what was evidently a form of the game. I did not watch it long enough to make out the details, but all the essentials were there—a diagram scratched on the ground, the player hopping on one foot, and with that foot kicking something—I think it was a small pot-sherd—from one compartment to another. I could not discern the exact figure of the diagram.

There is an annual fair at Sipi, a few miles from here, which took place the other day. There was a curious religious ceremony going on when we were there. There was a square box, perhaps two foot cube, with a domed top. On three sides of the box there was a head and shoulders of a female figure, to the fourth side a black Yak's tail was attached. The box was fixed on two poles, for carrying on men's shoulders, and from it there hung long heavily-pleated petticoats nearly to the ground. Four men supported the poles, and each man carried an axe in his right hand. They danced round with a springing, rhythmical step, to the music of drums and a pipe. This performance went on for hours, and was said to avert ill-luck from the fair. It was also said that the image (if so one may call it) was brought from a place sixty miles away; and that it was not allowed to be set down on the ground while on the journey. Relays of men carried it, without stopping all the way. I don't know that this is of any particular interest, but one never can tell.

The object of the fair is mainly matrimonial. The men purchase their brides—and I was told, but I did not see it, and will not vouch for it—that in some cases it is the custom for the purchaser to pursue and catch his bride after the purchase has been concluded."

H. BABINGTON SMITH.

Widow Carrying Hay Inauspicious.—Mr. Harold Littledale, Principal of the College, Baroda, writes as follows under date of 27th Oct. 1894:—"The following extract from a letter I have received will illustrate the reality of Indian beliefs in lucky and unlucky omens. The writer is a Guzerathi Brahman, a graduate of the Bombay University.

He wrote to me some time ago asking me to recommend him to a friend of mine, Col. J., for a post in his office, and said he would call at my house next day. I was not at home when he came, and he wrote a few days later deploring his bad luck in having missed me, but ascribing it to a bad omen that he had had on setting out. I wrote to ask him what the omen was that caused his misgivings of success in his undertaking. This is his reply. The omen is a well-known one, but it strikes me that you may care to have a practical example of its vitality to-day :—‘As for the omen, I met with a *widow* carrying a *bundle of hay* on my starting. The meeting of a widow is believed to be inauspicious ; and this was further aggravated by the circumstance of her carrying *hay*, as this, too, is deemed inauspicious.’”

Jottings from Easingwold, Yorkshire (communicated by Mr. F. York Powell).—1. Round this part, and notably at Coxwold, a village seven miles from this, I am told it is customary for a baby to be given an egg and salt to take away the first time it enters a neighbour's house. People are sometimes very angry if this is omitted.

2. “The Lucky Bird.” The first man that comes to the house, if he be fair, especially if he has a red head, brings luck ; if he be dark-haired it is unlucky. This was so much observed in the Bradford and Huddersfield district that a red-haired man was sometimes hired to come round.

3. Here is another version of the “Lucky Bird”, told by John White. I omitted to insert New Year's Day in the West Riding version as the day on which it is customary there.

John White, when a boy, used to go round as a Lucky Bird. His hair was a dark brown. He started as early as 3 A.M., and got 1s., 6d., or never less than a 4d. piece at each house, and was not allowed in the house unless he bore with him a piece of holly or something green. It was considered very unlucky if a woman was the first to enter the house on either New Year's Day or Christmas Day. In the other version, a woman or black-haired man are unlucky.

4. Robert Lawson of Thirlby, a small village at the foot of the Hambleton Hills, was known to the father of our carrier, John White. When trying to bolt a badger into his bag near the Fairies' Cave in the Hambleton Hills, the bag was drawn tight, and, as usual, he threw it over his shoulder without further examining it. He had only gone a few yards from the hole, when he heard a small voice saying :

“Have you seen out of my little pee pee

Pee pee with an e'e (eye) ?

Have you seen out of my little pee pee,

Pee pee with an e'e?”

And the thing in the sack answered :

“A’s upon Lob Lowson’s back gaaing ti Thirlbee,
A’s upon Lob Lowson’s back gaaing ti Thirlbee.”

Whereupon he threw down the sack and ran home as fast as he could.
“He’d gotten a fairy i’ t’ sack.”

5. The carrier has promised me any stories that occur to him. He gave me the following crow’s ditty, as known in this neighbourhood :

CROWS’ DITTY.

“Gowa ! Gowa !
Whea teea ? Whea teea ?
Bagby Moor, Bagby Moor (below Hambleton Hills).
What ti dea there ? What ti dea there ?
Seek an au’d yeo, seek an au’d yeo.
Is she fat ? Is she fat ?
Glorr ! Glorr ! Glorr !”

THRUSHES DITTY (*incomplete*) as told by my gardener.

“Coom here ! Coom here ! Coom here !
Billy Linfoot ! Billy Linfoot !
Coom back ! Coom back ! Coom back !” etc.

The rest I hope to get. It is the tune the thrush whistles and talks.

“The sparrow says, Jim ! Jim ! Jim !
The chaffinch, Pink ! Pink ! Pink !”

HUGH C. FAIRFAX-CHOLMELEY.

Mile Hill, Brandsley, Easingwold.

Wiltshire Jottings (communicated by Mr. W. E. Mullins, of Marlborough College).

“Bully, Bully, Snaager,
If the doos’nt putt out thy girt long hanns
I’ll putt the up in chinley carner.”

(The above is a snail rhyme.)

THE 5TH OF NOVEMBER.

“This is the day. That was the night,
When Papists did conspire,
To blow up King and Parliament
We dreadfull gun-pow-dire.”

High Street, Potterne, Devizes.

S. SMITH,

Guy Fawkes at Ramsgate.—The notes in the March number of FOLK-LORE on "Guy Fawkes on the South Coast", bring back to my memory that some fifty years ago it was a custom at Ramsgate to eat certain specially-prepared cakes on November 5th. They were like muffins as to size and shape, and were cut open for the reception of some treacle to be eaten with the cakes. At the same town boys personated Guy Fawkes, and not lay figures, as is usual in most places.

J. LEWIS ANDRÉ.

Burial of Teeth with Body in Cornwall.—An aged woman, known in the village as old Fanny, died at Mawgon, in North Cornwall, nine years ago. Mrs. Perrin, the Rector's wife, wrote a touching little account of her, called *Told for a Memorial*, which was published, I believe, by the Religious Tract Society. Fanny was a devoted Churchwoman, and took great interest in Foreign Missions for which she saved out of her scanty pittance. But she firmly believed that every tooth she possessed (she preserved all she lost in a box for the purpose) must be buried with her against the Day of Resurrection. She exacted a promise from the good clergyman and his wife that the teeth should be placed in her coffin. Mrs. Perrin told me the story herself, and regretted that most unfortunately she and Mr. Perrin had chanced to be travelling at the time of Fanny's death, and that they had not been in time to fulfil their promise about the teeth. Fanny firmly believed that her resurrection body would not be perfect without the teeth, as far as I could make out, but I had the impression that there was a special virtue in the things themselves. Excuse my troubling you with this story of the old Cornish woman, but I thought it might be of interest.

8, Balcombe Street, Dorset Square.

ROSAMOND VENNING.

Folk-lore Items from ^vČeský Lid, iii (Prag, January 1894).

P. 212. Village costumes, with pictures.

230. Going from house to house with the Mumming Girls (*Lucka*, pl. *Lucky*). Three to six girls of 12-14 years are clothed in white, their faces covered in a thin veil, to keep their faces from being seen and themselves from seeing. One holds a child swaddled up, the second has rags or a scrubbing-brush, the third a birch, the fourth a basket or bundle of apples, the fifth a brush for whitewashing. With them goes a sixth dressed up as a priest, holding a book and a sprinkler. They come quietly and unexpectedly in the twilight, into a room. They give greetings, but these are unintelligible. The nurse finds a stool, and sits upon it, taking the child in her arms and imitating its

cry. She with the scrubbing-brush kneels down and rubs the floor. The one who holds the whitening-brush stands by the wall and pretends to whitewash. The girl with birch and basket looks for children who are unwilling to say their prayers, and forces them to pray, threatening them with the brush. When the children have learnt to pray better, the girl takes from her basket some apples, nuts, or sweeties. For mother and father she has a bottle of good brandy to offer them. Meanwhile, the priest blesses and prays. If it happens that a girl is washing things, then they all help. Woe to those women who are plucking feathers or weaving when the maids come in! They blow all the feathers away. If a girl is spinning, the *Lucka* takes the distaff and spins away with it. If they come into a room where young bachelors live, they turn all their attention to them, and their first care is to drive them all out.

When they have done their visit, they go softly away again. All the girls who have been disguised as *Lucky* are hard to recognise. They all, and the priest, wet their faces, and then blow a handful of meal over it, that they be not known of any.

(A picture is given of these folk in a cottage at their deeds.)

243 ff. Painted houses in Moravia (pictures, and details of the decorations).

256. Picture of peasant man in costume.

257 ff. Local pottery, with pictures.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

Folklore Items from *North Indian Notes and Queries*, vol. iii.

FOLK-TALES.

254. *Lal Bahu, the Red Wife*.—How the jackal tricked the alligator.

255. *The Sparrow and the Shell*.—She takes in a dog, and saves her life.

256. *The Rajah and the Musahar Girl*.—Catches a fairy by taking her garment while she was bathing. Talking birds.

257. *Princess Phalande*.—Snake's jewel. Wicked stepmother; faithful animal; princess transformed into a bird that weeps pearls and laughs flowers.

258. *The Princess and the Cat*.—(Cinderella: Cap-o'-Rushes type.) She has a pet cat, which is so jealous that he will not let her husband take her. She puts on a *skin coat*, and flees into hiding. She takes service in her husband's house as a kitchen wench. The Prince recognises her, and eventually kills the cat.

259. *What's in a Name?* The point of the story may be gathered from these words: "Immortal I saw dead; wood upon Beauty's

head ; Luck begging alms ; Goldie a broken-down ox." [This is *Jataka*, No. 97.]

260. *The Cow and the Tigress*.—They are friends ; each has a young one. The cow gives its calf a cup of milk ; "as long as it is unchanged all is well with me." The tigress kills her ; at once the milk *changes into blood*. The cub and calf live together ; when calf dies, cub leaps upon its pyre. *Two bamboos grow from the ashes*. Men cut them ; from one flows milk, from the other blood. The ground is dug away, and two beautiful boys appear. [A pretty tale.]

261. *The Best Thing in the World*.—(Sarcastic.)

262. *The Mischievous Boy*.—(Rather funny.)

288. *Mr. Knowall*.—(See Clouston, *Pop. T. and F.*, ii, 413 ; *Katha Sar. Sag.*, tr. Tawney, i, 272.)

289. *The Lady who became a Cat*.—One-eyed bridegroom. Sesamum used in transformations.

290. *The Opium Eater and the Demons*.—One-eyed demon. "Blackhead" is the demons' name for man.

291. *The Wisdom of Birbal*.—Quips and quirks.

292. *The Kingdom of the Mice*.—Mouse delivers a camel by nibbling through his halter, and wins his devotion thereby.

295. *The Wily Tortoise*.—Gives a ruby to a fowler that he may let go a bird ; the man refuses when he gets it, and asks for another. "Show me the first", says Tortoise, "that I may see whether they match." The fowler produces it, and down dives our Tortoise with both.

297. *Rajah Bhishma and his Son*.—He sleeps on a rock ; a woman sits on the same place and becomes pregnant.

325. *The Height of Laziness*.—The editor quotes Grimm's *Three Sluggards*, No. 151.

326. *The Lusty young Buffalo*.

327. *The Four Pieces of Good Advice*.—Editor compares *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, p. 32. (A snake sucks out its own venom. I have met with this in the *Jataka* book, but cannot now find the reference.)

328. *The Prince who became a Kol*.—Taboo against going to the south. Bathing in a tank causes transformation. Talking bed.

329. *How the Sādhu went a-thieving*.—The dolt blows his sacred conch in absence of mind while he and a thief-gang were at work.

330. *The Tale of Tismar Khan*.—How a foolish man won his way by luck. Kills thirty flies, and calls himself the Slayer of Thirty. Frightens a tiger by a simple phrase which the tiger misunderstood, and so forth. [Compare Grimm, No. 20, *The Valiant Little Tailor*.]

334. *The Physician and his Son*.—A droll.

370. *The Half-Married Daughter of the Gardener*.—Introduces the Master Thief type, and the Ring of Recognition. At the ceremony, they walk round the fire.

371. *The Elixir of Youth*.—An old man made young by eating black rice ; but how it came to be black deponent saith not.

372. *The Two Liars*.—A droll.

373. *The Merchant's Virtuous Daughter*.—A bald variant of the persecuted heroine, from Mirzapur.

374. *The Foolish Ahir*.—How he saved the house from robbers by singing foolish things. The story lacks point.

375. *The Raja and the Snake*.—Told to avert the ill-omen caused if one sneeze at the beginning of a journey or piece of business. Draws an edifying moral.

376. *The Prodigal Son*.—At the end "he stayed at home and never more disobeyed his women folk."

378. *Judgment of Solomon*.—An exact parallel (Mirzapur).

413. *The Princess of Karnalpur*.—How a very stupid prince wins his wife. The doors are marked as in Ali Baba. Women are made to pass through fire to prove their innocence. The princess gets her paramour to jostle her in the crowd, and then swears she never touched any man save that fellow. (The last trick is also found in *Jātaka*, No. 62, and in "Balochi Tales", *FOLK-LORE*, iv, 291.)

414. *The King and the Evil Spirit*.—A king chases a deer, which changes into a woman's form, and he weds her.

MIXED.

263. *Kumaon*.—Magic Well. Makes the drinker wise, but only if he has never before tasted water. So it is given to new-born babies.

267. *Budaun*.—A lad who steals a potter's moulding-rod gets a bride soon.

271. Attempt at human sacrifice tried in court at Calcutta.

298. *Palamau*.—Two kinds of marriage ; one celebrated in the bride's house, one in the house of the bridegroom's father.

301. Charm against poisonous insects.

303. Crows are fed at Hindu funerals, being believed to receive the soul of the dead.

304. It is lucky to be annoyed and abused by your neighbours at a certain festival. [The people abused each other at the Mysteries of Eleusis ; this was called γεφυρισμός. So at the Dionysia, τὰ ἐξ ἀμαξῶν ; and the Thesmophoria, στήνια.] So at the Bengal Nashti Chandra feast, and the Dhela Chauth Mela at Benares, people get bricks, etc., thrown into their house to avert ill luck. [A modern Greek woman objects to your admiring her child, and straightway begins to abuse it.]

305. Auspicious omens from the Ramayana. One is a crow on the ht.

306. *Jalandhar*.—Goats and grain offered to rivers to avert floods. The goat is taken across and *let go*; the grain is some thrown in, the rest eaten by the people.

307. Charm to cure toothache.

308. Girls married to a god "always died soon afterwards".

311. Gūga was a snake that changed to man's form for love of a princess.

312. Cure for hydrophobia.

315. When a child is born to a Desbath Brahmin, he throws himself into a well with all his clothes on ; dresses in fresh clothes, and in presence of his and wife's relations lets a couple of drops of honey and butter fall into the child's mouth.

338. *Khandesh*.—Marwari Banyas. At marriage, the groom finds at his bride's door seven or nine wooden sparrows, the middle one the biggest. He must touch the middle one with his sword.

339. Every Hindu tank must be married, or its water will not be sweet, but will increase thirst instead of quenching it. Evil spirits haunt unmarried tanks. A pole set in the centre is the husband. Wells must be married to a tree. [Doubtless the pole represents a tree. More of this in Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections*; marriage of tank with tree before using, i, 40. So one of the fruit trees in a grove must be married with another tree before any dare eat of the fruit, i, 38. A stone is married yearly to a shrub in Orchhā, i, 149 and *note*.]

340. *Charm to aid delivery*.—Piece of brick from a certain old fort is dipped in water, which is then drunk. Or a *likeness of the fort* is drawn in a dish, shown to the woman, and washed in water, which she drinks.

342. The Shah wears an aigrette in his crown, because the founder of the Sufi dynasty dreamt he bore a child to an ass. He therefore vowed to wear an ass phallus in his crown if he got the empire, and to imitate ass braying in his music. [The last vow is certainly fulfilled in much Eastern music.]

345. Note of the dove interpreted to be a wail for an absent lover. [The nightingale was supposed by the Greeks to bewail the child Itys.]

346. Among the *Kāmāthis* of *Thāna* (Bombay), a girl at puberty is bidden to sit ten or thirteen days by herself.

347. *Sitapur*.—Taboo against growing sugar-cane, and making tiled houses.

348. *Mirzapur*.—For pains, kill a kite on Tuesday, and wear its bones strung about the part.

349. *Bānsi*.—To keep worms off the rice, feed a Kāyasth on rice, and throw the leavings in the fields. The worms eat these in order to become as deceitful as the Kāyasths are.

350. Those who die in Rāmnagar become asses.

381. A haunted mountain and Indian Walpurgisnacht.

388. A certain kind of snake kills the buffalo if it meets its glance.

392. Legend of Cain and Abel, who quarrel over a woman. Cain is puzzled what to do with the body, till he sees some crows burying a fellow crow whom they had killed ; he does the same.

394. Putting salt on a man's hand makes both sworn foes.

396. *Tibet*.—Marriage by capture. In Central Tibet the *maternal uncle* must give consent.

399. *Palamau*.—Well ceremony. (Daubing with red-lead.)

400. Spirits of those killed in a certain railway collision haunt the spot. [This belief about battle-fields is common.]

403. A funny tale of a hill-bird and valley-bird that quarrelled as to when the sun rose ; and why the one of them goes lame.

404. A lizard falling to the *right of a man* and the *left of a woman* is lucky.

405. If you cut off the scalplock of the ghost of one who has died a violent death, he is your slave for life.

415. *Kulu customs at the rice planting*.—A rude dough *image of a man* is made and thrown away as a sacrifice to the household deity.

425. The *Banjaris* always move their grass huts after a death. At first an opening is made in the back of the hut, and no one enters by the ordinary door. Afterwards the hut is pulled down and set up elsewhere.

430. Legend of two kings who agreed to marry their children if of opposite sex. Both proved to be girls ; but one of the men kept up a pretence that his child was a boy. The pair were married ; but when the fraud was found out quarrels ensued. The disguised girl tried to drown herself, but came out changed into a boy ; so all were content.

431. *Faizabad*.—A tribe lives here who will not grow sugar-cane and will not allow tiles for their roofs (the Bhale Sultan Rajputs).

451. A tale including three helpful beasts (one is "the cow of plenty"), how the clever girl outwitted Indra.

452. *The Faithful Son of the Wazir (Mirzapur)*.—"When a bride approached her husband, she put on her finest clothes, and brought in various things as an offering to wave over the head of her lord." A man restored to life after his head has been cut off. The Wazir's son hears the parrots' talking how that his party must die, and learns from them how to prevent it. He discloses the fact that he had learnt this from the parrots, and is turned into stone. He is quickened

by the prince's wife slaying her daughter and dropping the blood on the stone. Of course the child comes to life again too. (Grimm, No. 6, *Faithful John*.)

453. *The Princess who would not Speak*.—The lucky prince makes her speak by causing the bed to pinch her, and door, window, and lamp to abuse her.

454. *King Topsy-Turvy*.—A quaint tale; everything is wrong, until the king is persuaded to have himself hanged.

458. *The Prince and the Thugs*.—Disguised Prince; "forgotten bride and son"; "pretended death"; "marks to recognise the hero"; *swayamvara*, or choice by princess of a husband.

456. Four Indian Wise Men of Gotham.

461. Restrictions on the colour of women's clothes.

463. Hindu ladies do not wear golden jewels on their feet, for fear of ill-luck, or out of respect for gold.

465. "*Going through the Golden Cow*."—Two ceremonies by which the Rajas of Travancore, by caste Sudras, become equal to the Brahmans. The chief part, it need not be said, is to distribute gold and to feast these holy men.

467. Barren women try to procure a piece of the breastcloth of "a woman with children"; if they swallow a piece, it causes them to conceive. [Mirzapur, apparently.]

474. Marriage by capture among the Bhils of Gujerat.

January—March, 1894. (*References by Sections*).

POPULAR RELIGION.

354. *Hindu Ceremonial at the Eclipse*.

356. *Pipal Tree worshipped by Hindu Women*.—Story told by them to account for it.

360. *Palamau: Religion of the Kharwars*.—Harvest god, represented by rough stone, sometimes daubed with *red lead*; always placed at a tree foot. All castes in the village worship it, not Kharwars merely.

407. A very detailed description of one fortnight's ceremonial. The Brahmans are feasted in the name of deceased relatives. Mode of making libations with water. A portion is *first* given to the cow, the crow, and the dog. Part of the ceremony is to describe the  on a cloth; they then "take up a betel nut, dip it in turmeric, and put it within the cloth. This is the *Mātā* (goddess)". [*Mātā* means "mother", and it does not appear whether the symbol is called by this name, or the cloth, or the nut]. Males and females perform this ceremony separately.

408. A low-caste man chosen for an expiatory festival, and revered as a god, while his wife is a goddess. Phallic ceremony.

409. Folk-lore of the *Vindhya*, omens, etc. Spitting three times when a star falls.

432. Evil spirits, male and female. One lives in a banyan or bel tree. Another (female) calls the householder out. He follows into the woods, and is there found mad in the morning (like the *νυμφό-ληπτος*). A piece of iron is a protective charm.

434. *Gorakhpur*.—Local gods. Legend of *Chaubah Baba*, whose "image was nothing but an earthen elephant." Sacrifices of goats and buffaloes; the sacrificer has his forehead marked with the blood. *Akhara ki Bhiwani* (f.) is also represented as an elephant. Worship when there is sickness. A third is worship almost exclusively at marriages.

435. *Mimicry*.—When a Brahman's body has been touched, after death, by one of a lower caste, the burning is done over again. An image is made out of all sorts of things, twigs for the limbs, cocoanut for the head, shells for eyes, and so on. It is coated with pulse to represent flesh, and a deerskin represents the skin of the man. It is then duly burned (*Muzaffarnagar*).

436. *Ceremonies at sinking of a well*.—One of them is to smear *red powder* in five places, tie grass and thread, and make a fire sacrifice. In the well is cast cow dung, cow's milk, cow's urine, and leaves and honey: same for a tank, or a temple of Shiva.

438. *Exorcising an Evil Spirit*.—A woman hired three exorcists, who trampled on her and kicked her about so that finally she died.

439. *Hoshiarpur*.—The Bhabras will not eat or drink in the dark. They may not peel vegetables or prepare them for cooking, but do not mind cooking and eating them if some one else does the peeling.

ANTHROPOLOGY.

362. *Women in Kulu, Lahaul, Spiti* (Tibet).—A *maqpa* is a man married to an heiress; he is her property, whom she may divorce at will. In *Kulu*, a widow may keep a paramour so long as she does not quit her husband's house.

364. *Shahjahanpur*.—Marriage celebrated *inter alia* by walking round a post; bridegroom crowned with a twig. See also 367.

369. *Palamau, the Bhrijiyas*.—Torchlight dance; men apparently disguised as peacocks.

412. *Birth, Circumcision, Betrothal*. (Mahomedans of Upper Ganges and Jumna).—For the birth, a woman is put in a separate house. Things to eat and to wear are sent from her father's house. On the sixth, seventh, or ninth day (it varies) the mother leaves this chamber for the first time; takes the child in her arms; she comes out

with eyes shut, and opens them to look at the sky. Meanwhile some near relation has to lie down on her bed. Strings of green mango leaves are hung across the doors of her house and *her relations*. The hair on the child's head when it is born has to be cut on the seventh, fourteenth, or twenty-first day, and then one or two *goats* are sacrificed, not a bone of them must be broken. The child's head is then shaved, and the hair's weight in gold or silver is given to the poor; the hair is buried. On its first birthday, a long cord is taken and a knot made in it, this being done on each birthday following. [The reader will remember the Peruvian *quipu*.] This interesting paper flows into a Dead Sea of moral reflections, and there's an end.

440. *Kulu custom*.—If a pregnant woman dies, the husband must have done some sin, and must expiate it by a pilgrimage. The child is removed from the body, and the woman buried.

446. *Garhwal*—Harvest ceremony. A grass rope is fixed up on a hill-top running down to the valley; a board pierced with a hole runs on it. A man dressed in white goes up to the top, and with much abuse and some chaff invokes his ancestors to see him safe down; wife and children wait at the bottom. Then down he goes on the wooden saddle, looking "rather like an angel". His descent is stopped by a blanket wound round the rope. He carries two bags of sand on his ankles for ballast. This now becomes sacred, also his hair, especially for disease and barrenness. He distributes the sand and pulls out tufts of hair for those who give him presents. The narrator thinks this is a softened human sacrifice. It benefits the crops.

447. *Tonsure of a child* among the *Bejal Seths*.—At the proper age it is done at the house door. By him stand two persons in disguise, one holding a bow and arrow, the other a shoe. The women mourn on seeing the child hairless. It is an unlucky day, and some neighbour has to cook the food and light the lamps for them. A very stupid story, obviously made up from the practice, is told to account for it.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

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FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

SIXTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL,

JANUARY 17TH, 1894.

DURING the past year the work of collecting the folk-lore of the different counties, the inauguration of which was one of the principal events of the year 1892, has been steadily pushed forward, and Lady Camilla Gurdon's collection of the folk-lore of Suffolk from printed sources has been published by the Society, and issued to members as Part II of the series of *County Folk-Lore*. The Leicestershire and Rutland Collection has also been completed by Mr. Billson, and, it is hoped, will soon be in the printer's hands. It is probable that several of the other county collections will be ready to be printed in the course of the present year. Collectors have been found for Nottinghamshire, Argyllshire, Buteshire, and Morayshire, since the issue of last year's Report, and the following table shows precisely what has been and is being done in this direction :

<i>Name of County.</i>	<i>Name of Collector.</i>	<i>Address of Collector.</i>
Gloucestershire .	E. S. Hartland, F.S.A.	Barnwood Court, Gloucester.
<i>(County Folk-Lore, Vol. I, Part 1.)</i>		
Suffolk . . .	Lady Camilla Gurdon	Grundisburgh Hall, Woodbridge.
<i>(County Folk-Lore, Vol. I, Part 2.)</i>		
Northumberland	Mrs. M. A. Balfour . .	West Street, Belford.
Lancashire . .	Miss M. Dendy . . .	140, Upper Brook St., Manchester.
Yorkshire . .	Mrs. Gutch . . .	Holgate Lodge, York.
Nottinghamshire	Mrs. Chaworth Musters	Wiverton Hall, Bingham, Notts.
Staffordshire.	{ Miss C. S. Burne . . . Miss Keary . . . }	{ 24, Cambray Place, Cheltenham.
Leicestershire and Rutland	{ The Folk-lore Committee of the Leicester Lit. and Phil. Soc., C. J. Billson . . }	{ St. John's Lodge, Clarendon Park Road, Leicester.

<i>Name of County.</i>	<i>Name of Collector.</i>	<i>Address of Collector.</i>
Norfolk . . .	Miss Matthews . . .	The Hollies, Swaffham.
Middlesex . . .	J. P. Emslie . . .	Addington Villa, Addington Sq., S.E.
Surrey . . .	} F. Green . . .	Filstone, Addiscombe Grove, Croydon.
Kent . . .		
Orkney and Shetland . . .	} J. F. Black . . .	Museum of Antiquities, Edin- burgh.
Fifeshire . . .		
	J. E. Simpkins . . .	Museum of Antiquities, Edin- burgh.
Nairnshire . . .	Dr. B. Cruikshank . . .	Maida Place, Nairn.
Buteshire . . .	Rev. J. King Hewison . . .	The Manse, Rothesay.
Morayshire . . .	Rev. J. McEwen . . .	
Aberdeenshire . . .	} J. E. Crombie . . .	Balgownie Lodge, Aberdeen.
Kincardineshire . . .		
Argyllshire . . .	Dr. MacLagan . . .	
Stirlingshire . . .	} Hon. J. Abercromby . . .	62, Palmerston Place, Edinburgh.
Clackmannan . . .		
Antrim . . .	} Rev. S. A. Brenan . . .	Knocknacarry, co. Antrim.
Tyrone . . .		
Dublin . . .	A. Eraut . . .	St. Colomba's College, Dublin.
Isle of Man . . .	G. W. Wood . . .	

At one of the Evening Meetings Mr. Brabrook will read a Report of the Proceedings of the Ethnographical Committee, the appointment of which was the outcome of the conference between the Society of Antiquaries, the Anthropological Institute, and the Folk-Lore Society, instituted by the Council in 1892, for the discussion of the best means of obtaining a complete Ethnographic Survey of the United Kingdom. The course proposed to be adopted by the Committee was briefly sketched in the last Annual Report, and many members of the Society will, doubtless, avail themselves of this opportunity of hearing from Mr. Brabrook the results obtained by the Committee.

The Council have not lost sight of the question of the feasibility of securing a permanent habitation for the Society in London, but they do not at present see their way to incurring the very considerable additional expense which this step would entail. They are, however, very pleased to be able to state that arrangements have been made with the authorities of the Archæological Museum at Cambridge for placing a case in the Museum, for the

purpose of preserving objects belonging to or exhibited through the Society. They hope that before long the case will be *in situ*, and that all who have any folk-lore objects of interest they are willing either to give or to lend to the Society for exhibition in the Museum will communicate with the Secretary, giving full particulars of each object.

The embryo library at the Secretary's rooms at Lincoln's Inn is steadily increasing, numerous books and pamphlets having been presented to the Society or taken in exchange during the past year. The Council propose that in future all books and pamphlets presented to the Society from time to time shall be laid on the table at an evening meeting, and the gift duly chronicled in the Transactions of the Society, so as to give every member an opportunity of knowing what the library contains, and of referring to any book in it in case of need.

The Council have it in contemplation to arrange for the holding of a Provincial Meeting in the present year. They are of opinion that, taking all circumstances into consideration, Cambridge would be the best centre to choose for the experiment; but their plans are not yet sufficiently mature to enable them to make any definite proposal. Meanwhile they will welcome any suggestions from members as to carrying out the object they have in view.

In the early part of the year, the Council received proposals from members of the Anthropological Institute for an amalgamation of the two Societies. The Council of each body appointed a Committee for the purpose of settling a basis for amalgamation, and the Committees met and eventually agreed upon the terms which they were prepared to recommend their respective Councils to accept. The Council of this Society accepted the recommendations of its Committee, which were as follows, viz. :—

(1) That the principle of the proposed union should be, as far as practicable, to continue all existing arrangements, uniting the two Councils into one.

(2) That, while it was essential that the name of the Society should include the words "Anthropological" and "Folk-Lore", it would be advisable, inasmuch as the Anthropological Institute is a corporate body under the licence of the Board of Trade, for the combined Society at first to adopt the Memorandum and Articles of that Institute, leaving it to the combined Council to determine what alterations by way of special resolution it might be expedient to make for the better effectuation of the union.

(3) That it must be a stipulation that all existing members of the Folk-Lore Society have the option of continuing to enjoy their present privileges for an annual subscription of one guinea.

(4) That, with regard to publications, it should be agreed that the combined Council should fix, at the beginning of each year, the amount to be appropriated for that purpose, and that such amount should be equally divided between the Anthropological and the Folk-lore Departments, the publications being issued separately.

(5) That the future name be the Institute of Anthropology and Folk-Lore ; and

(6) That all future members pay two guineas per annum.

The Council of the Anthropological Institute did not see their way to accept the recommendations of their Committee, and the negotiations accordingly fell through. The Council cannot but regret this result, as they are convinced that an amalgamation could not have failed to be of great scientific value to the studies for which both Societies are established. As the proposition fell through, there was no need to place it before the members of this Society for their individual opinion and vote ; but the Council desire to record their action in this matter, in view of any possible future efforts being made in the same direction.

The publications issued during the year were:—*Folk-Lore*, vol. iv, issued to members as usual in quarterly parts; *County Folk-Lore*, Part II (Suffolk). The latter publication

is issued in advance as a publication belonging to the year 1895; the second volume for 1893 is *Saxo Grammaticus*, translated by Mr. Oliver Elton, with an Introduction by Mr. York Powell, which, it is expected, will be ready for delivery to members by Easter next. The second volume of *The Denham Tracts* is also partly through the press, and will be issued to members as the volume for 1894.

Evening Meetings have been held on the following dates: January 25th, February 15th, March 15th, April 19th, May 17th, June 21st, November 15th, and December 20th.

The papers read at these meetings were:—

Feb. 15. On Folk-Drama. By T. F. Ordish, F.S.A.

A Lenten Custom in the South of Italy. By Miss Lucy Broadwood.

The Merry Wassailers. By Miss Lucy Garnett.

March 15. The Folk-Lore of Domesticated Birds. By the Rev. W. Gregor.

Cinderella in Britain. By A. Nutt.

Folk-Lore of Co. Leitrim. By Leland L. Duncan, F.S.A.

Some Indian Obeahs. By M. J. Walhouse.

Notes on the Folk-Lore of County Antrim. By the Rev. S. A. Brennan.

April 19. Cornish Folk-Lore. By the Rev. W. S. Lach Szyrma.

The Folk. By J. Jacobs.

The Green Lady. By Mrs. Gomme.

May 17. The Oldest European Fairy Tale. By Dr. Gaster.

A Folk-Tale from Kumaon. By Pandit Bhagwan Das Sarma.

The Enchanted Gentleman (a Deptford tale). Communicated by Mrs. Gomme.

Some May-Day Observances in a Mountain Village in Co. Sligo. By Mr. Bree.

June 21. On the Armenian Folk-Lore. By Prof. Tcheraz.

May-Day at Watford. By P. Manning.

Folk-Lore in Wills. By Leland L. Duncan, F.S.A.

Nov. 15. On Some of the Earliest Existing Races in India. By Fred. Fawcett.

On Some Recent Utterances by Mr. Newell and Mr. Jacobs. By A. Nutt.

Nov. 15. A Note on Rescuing a Person from Drowning. By W. B. Gerish.

The Fifth of November. By Miss C. S. Burne.

Masock, a Cinghalese game. By Mrs. Murray-Aynsley.

Magpie Folk-Lore. By E. Peacock, F.S.A.

On Some Incidents in Two Trials for Murder in Southern India. By E. Sewell.

Dec. 20. Scripture Tableaux in Italian Churches, and Italian Votive Offerings. By W. H. D. Rouse.

Old Northern Folk-Lore and Folk-Faith. By F. York Powell, F.S.A.

Cursing-Stones in Co. Fermanagh, Cavan, etc. By G. H. Kinahan, F.S.A.

During the year the Society has lost one member by death, and twenty-five by withdrawal. Twenty-eight new members have been elected, so that the number on the books is only slightly increased.

The Council urge upon all who have the welfare of the Society at heart to join the Society and retain their membership, whether they may be able or not to be present at the Evening Meetings. If the work already undertaken by the Council is to be carried out, there must be no diminution in the number of members, and if a permanent habitation is to be secured, the numbers must be materially increased. This is a point which the Council feel they cannot impress too strongly upon the members of the Society individually, and they trust that during the coming year they may be able to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of many to whom the Society is at present unknown.

The accounts of the Society, as audited, are presented herewith. The balance to the credit of the Society stands at a somewhat lower figure than it did a year ago; but this is accounted for by the fact that the whole of the disbursements on account of the Congress Committee have been already made, while some few of the guarantees are still outstanding. The Council, however, regret to say that the Society will eventually be some £30 out of pocket

through having financed the Congress, and they suggest that, with a view of meeting the deficiency, every member of the Society who has not already done so should purchase a copy of the *Transactions*.

The Council, having taken into consideration the temporary arrangement entered into with Messrs. Nutt a year ago for the publication of *Folk-Lore*, have come to the conclusion that it is not expedient, in the interests of the Society, to continue it, but that the ownership and control of the Journal should henceforth be vested solely in the Society. With a view of giving effect to their resolution, they considered the future conduct of the Journal, and decided as follows:—

1. That the Journal be a record of the Society's proceedings and actions, similar to the published Transactions of other learned societies. The basis of the Journal therefore will be the Proceedings of the Evening Meetings, and of the Provincial Meeting. There will be recorded: (1) The papers read at the Evening Meetings (subject to the Council's approval of each paper); (2) the objects exhibited; (3) donations to the Library or Museum; (4) the papers read at the Provincial Meeting (subject to the Council's approval of each paper). The remainder of the Journal will consist of (*a*) the Bibliography; (*b*) Notes and Queries; (*c*) Notices and Reviews of current works; (*d*) Folk-lore Miscellanea and Correspondence.

2. That the Journal be issued in four Parts, as at present.

3. The method of management is a somewhat difficult subject, but, on the whole, the Council came to the conclusion that a small and specially selected Committee be appointed for the purpose of managing and editing the Journal, the Chairman of which Committee should undertake such of the technical part of the editing as requires personal attention. They are pleased to be able to state that Mr. Nutt has consented to act as Chairman, and that

the President and Treasurer, with Messrs. Jacobs and Kirby and Miss Roalfe Cox, constitute the first Committee.

The President has suggested to the Council that the time has come in the history of the Society when it is desirable that the Presidency should be considered as an office to be held for a limited period, and the Council therefore recommend that it should be an understanding that in following years the President is not re-elected after two years' service.

G. LAURENCE GOMME, *President.*

F. A. MILNE, *Secretary,*

11, Old Square,
Lincoln's Inn, W.C.

TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31ST, 1893.

RECEIPTS.			PAYMENTS.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
To Balance carried forward from 1892	...	164 0 9	By Printing Account (Publications):—		
" Subscriptions, 1894 (9) ...	£9	9 0	Mr. C. J. Clark (<i>Cinderella</i>) ¹ on		
" " 1893 (318) ...	333	18 0	account	£175	0 0
" " 1892 (16) ...	16	16 0	Messrs. Nutt (<i>Folk-Lore</i> , Vol. iii, 4;		
" " earlier years (7)	7	7 0	and iv, 1, 2, 3)	147	10 0
				322	10 0
To sale of Publications, per Messrs.			" Printing Account (General):—		
Nutt:—			Mr. C. J. Clark	26	16 6
February account	£7	11 11	Messrs. Walker and Boutall ...	0	13 6
May "	8	2 2			
August "	29	11 1	" Postages, Despatch of Volumes, etc. (Messrs.		
November "	14	10 7	Nutt)	27	10 0
" per Secretary	59	15 9	" Binding Account (Simpson's)	49	2 4
" Compounding Fees	1	8 0	" Indexing <i>Devilham Tracts</i> , Vol. i (Mrs. Gomme)	43	13 10
" International Folk-Lore ...	21	0 0	" Hine of Meeting Room (1892-93) ...	5	5 0
" Con-			" Refreshments at Meetings	9	9 0
gress (1891) account:—			" Advertisements (<i>Athenæum</i>)	5	5 0
Balance at London and County			" Secretary's salary	2	16 6
Bank transferred to credit of			" " Poundage on Subscriptions	55	1 0
the Society	£33	0 6			
Subscription to <i>Transactions</i>			" Petty Cash, per Secretary (postages,		
(Prof. Rhys)	0	10 6	etc.)	£5	2 0
Guarantees received	187	2 0	" " Cheque book	0	8 4
	220	13 0	" " Stamps on cheques, etc. ...	0	2 1
			" " Bank and other Discounts	0	14 5
				6	6 10
			" International Folk-Lore Congr ss		
			(1891) account:—		
			Total amount advanced	£260	1 8
			Less amount advanced in 1891		
			and 1892	73	3 1
			" Balance in hand	186	18 7
				120	9 5
				£834	7 6

EDWARD CLODD, *Treasurer*.
 G. L. APPERSON, }
 F. G. GREEN, } *Auditors*.

¹ The total cost of the *Cinderella* volume was £242 18s. 8d.

The Folk-Lore Society.

(1894.)

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The letter c placed before a Member's name indicates that he or she has compounded.

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 Aberdeen Public Library, per Messrs. Wyllie and Co., Aberdeen.
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 Amsterdam, the Univ. Library of, per Kirberger & Kesper, Booksellers, Amsterdam.
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